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ART. I.—THE TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF BENGAL.

NO. III.—THE DINAGEPOOR RAJ.*

THE Bengal Collectorate of Dinagepoor preserves the name, and, to a certain extent, the boundaries of one of the great Hindoo estates which grew up amidst the disorders of the last century and a half of Mahomedan rule. In the Rajbaree at Dinagepoor still resides a representative of the family by whom the zemin-daree was consolidated ; but the greater number of the Pergunnas over which his predecessors ruled, were sold within ten years of the Decennial Settlement of the revenues in 1790. Before beginning to sketch the rise and fall of the family, it will not be out of place to state briefly what is known of the earlier history of the district. Various legends connect with it, as with other parts of India, the stories of Ban Raja and his wars with Krishno, of the sage Valmikee and the protection he afforded to Ram's discarded wife, of Porosooram, of Yuddhisthir, and of Virot Raja, whose realm of Motsyo Desh, or the Land of the Fish, was separated from that of Bhogodotto by the river Korotoyo ; but it is not until the dynasty of the Pal Rajas that there is evidence of any foundation for the stories told.

The Pal Rajas were Princes of Gour ; but rather of the province than of the city which afterwards became its capital, and the ruins of which may be seen to this day. Gour is mentioned in an astronomical treatise, the Brihat Sanhita, of the sixth century after Christ, as part of one of the regions into which India was divided for scientific purposes, but the city was probably not built until the time of the Sen dynasty, which reigned immediately before the Mahomedan conquest. The Pal Rajas appear to have lived in different parts of the district of Dinagepoor, and what is now separated from it under the name of Bogra. The most westerly

* As this is a signed article, the Indian proper names is preserved,—
author's own method of spelling EDITOR.

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point where traces are found of them is about a dozen miles south-west of the station of Dinagepoor, on the road to Maldah; where the tank Mohipaldighee, the village of Mohipoor, and the Pergunna of Mohinogor, preserve the name of that Mohi Pal Raja who, according to an inscription found by Mr. Broadley at Nalanda, and translated by Baboo Rajendra Lala Mittra, was reigning A.D. 856. A pillar still standing on the borders of Dinagepoor and Bogra, bears an inscription to show that it was set up by the minister of Narayon Pal, who according to the Ayeen Akbaree reigned four generations before Mohi Pal. Another pillar, now in the Rajbaree, but brought originally from the ruins of Bannogor, sixteen miles to the south, records the dedication of a temple to Seeb by a prince of Gour, of the line of Kamboj in the year 888 (A.D. 831).^{*} The tribe of Kamboj is mentioned in the Ramayana, and classed with the Yavanas, Sakas, Pahlavas, and the like, and an inscription found at Monghyr[†] dated in the reign of Deb Pal, three generations before Narayan Pal, indicates Kamboj as the country from which the Pal race had come; fair grounds for believing the prince of Gour of the race of Kamboj, to have been one of the same dynasty. In the Thana division of Badolgachee in Bogra the villagers point out the sites of the houses of Deb Pal, Mohi Pal, and Chondro Pal; in that of Lal Bazar, those of Mohi Pal and Oosha Pal (who probably dug the tank called Ooshardighee near Potiram), Hoodom Pal, and other Rajas of the same name. A copper-plate found in Pergunna Sooltanpoor contains further mention of Pal princes, and there can be no reasonable doubt that during the ninth century, and probably for several generations before and after, they were powerful sovereigns in the province of Gour, that their dominions extended at least as far westward as Monghyr, and their fame as far as Benares. It may be that their reason for settling so far north of the Ganges, which was the great means of communication with Upper India, was that the country further south had not yet, by the subterraneous action which is still going on, risen sufficiently above the level of the water to afford a pleasant residence.

How long the Pals reigned there is no certain means of knowing; but before the Mahomedan conquest, A.D. 1203, the Sen dynasty had supplanted them, and had made Gour the capital of its dominions. It may be that the Pals had retired before the Sens, and crossed the Korotoyo, retaining some power to the eastward of that river; the writer of an article on Ancient Assam[‡] was of opinion that they were reigning in Kamroop as late as A.D. 1175.

^{*} Translated by Baboo Rajendra Lala Mittra.

[†] As. Res. vol. i. p. 123.

[‡] Calcutta Review, Aug. 1867.

According to Dr. Buchanan, the kingdom of which Gour was the capital, was in the time of the Sens divided into six provinces, the central one being Gour, surrounded by the other five, Barondro, Bonggo, Bagri, Rarhi, and Maithilo. Barondro, bounded by the Korooyo on the east, and the Mohanondo on the west, extended northwards only as far as Dumdumma, on the river Poornabhoba, near Bannogor, before mentioned. As soon as the Mahomedans had made themselves masters of Gour, they established a frontier post at Dumdumma, and another at Ghoraghat, the latter to menace Kamroop, the former directed against some power, we know not what, in Dinagepoor. The Mahomedan remains at Dumdumma are numerous, showing the strength of the force that was kept there, and the length of time for which they occupied the post. A mosque there bears an inscription recording that it was built by one Zafar Khán Bahrám Itzin in the reign of Kai Káos Sha, in the year 697 Hijri (A.D. 1297).*

At first the Mahomedan ruler in Gour was no more than the Viceroy of the Emperor at Delhi, but it was not long before the amount of power which he derived from the rule of so great and rich provinces, and the distance at which he found himself from the controlling authority, tempted him to assert his independence. Dr. Buchanan, who had access to a valuable manuscript in Poroowa, was of opinion that Ali-ud-deen, who reigned A.D. 1340—1342 † was the first Bengal Viceroy who refused tribute. In the time of his successor Shamsuddeen, the Emperor Firoz Sha marched upon Gour, and the rebellious Viceroy fell back upon Ghoraghat, but the Emperor came to some terms with him, and left him in the enjoyment of his post. During the time when the Viceroys were endeavouring to make themselves independent sovereigns in Bengal, their attention was principally turned towards the movements of the power in the west that they were setting at defiance, and they had the less leisure to bestow upon the Hindoo chiefs to the north of Dumdumma.

It is probable also that about this time the Ganges had already partially or wholly deserted its old channel under the walls of Gour; and Rajmahal, as being upon the bank of the main stream, was found a more convenient residence for the ruler of the province. A stretch of low country, and a line of swamps, to the northward and eastward of Gour, still show where the river originally flowed; and the site, chosen as being as it were an island of stiff clay, which amid the shifting mud and sand of the Gangetic plain, defied the action of the river, and also as being on the bank of the great stream which was the highway of the

* Deciphered by Professor Blochmann.

† Elphinstone.

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country, was no longer a suitable one for a capital when that river deserted it. The Viceroy and the troops, when at Rajmahal, were separated from the district of Dinagepoor by the Ganges, and by a tract which is inundated for more than a third of the year, and Gonesh, Hakim of Dynwaj, whom the relaxed vigilance on the northern frontier had enabled to become a powerful chief, swooped down upon Gour, and slew Shekh Bodor Islam and his son Faiz Islam who, Buchanan says, refused to give him the compliment due to the rank he assumed, the meaning of which probably is, that Bodor Islam commanded the garrison of Gour, and endeavoured in vain to defend the city.

The name which Dr. Buchanan writes Dynwaj, probably from the Arabic or Persian manuscript at Poroowa, is undoubtedly the first part of the name Dinagepoor, which means the City of Dinaj. The name strictly belongs to the village upon the lands of which the Rajbaree is built, one of the six or seven which form the town of Dinagepoor; and Dinaj must have been the name of the person who with his family and adherents first cleared and occupied the land, according to a system of nomenclature applied to new settlements in the district to the present day. This is a far more likely origin of the name than the one usually accepted, which translates Dinagepoor "The City of the Poor."

The title "Hakim" is still commonly applied to zemindars by their ryots.

Upon the death of the Mahomedan nobles, intelligence was sent to Sultan Ibraheem at Rajmahal, by the saint Kootob Sha, and he led a force against the Hindoo usurper. The narrative of subsequent events is extremely obscure. Ibraheem took up his position at a place called Satra, between the rivers Tangon and Poornabhoba, but whether there was any fighting or no is not clear. Then Gonesh made terms with Kootob Sha, and made his son Godason, or, as Elphinstone calls him, Jitmal, a Mahomedan under the name of Jalalooddeen. Next Jalalooddeen takes the government, and puts Ibraheem Sha, who may or may not be identical with Sultan Ibraheem, to death, and afterwards Gonesh deposes Jalalooddeen and keeps him in confinement for four years, when Jalalooddeen for a second time comes into power and reigns for seven years, during which he compels all the Hindoos of Dinagepoor to become Mahomedans, except such as escape by crossing the Korotoyo into Kamroop. There is an air of improbability about this account; perhaps the annalist is wrong in making Jalalooddeen a relation of Gonesh. Jalalooddeen was succeeded by his son Ahmed Sha, who was murdered about A.D. 1426,* and if he was really of the

* Elphinstone.

family of Gonesh, there was an end of it so far as regards the possession of Gour. Whether it retained any power in its original district of Dinagepoor is another question. Elphinstone, who derives his information principally from Ferishta, a Mahomedan writer who finished his history A.D. 1609, dates the raid of Gonesh, whom he calls Káns or Kánis, in A.D. 1386; Mr. J. H. Ravenshaw, who when Collector of Maldah took a great deal of trouble in verifying the history of Gour from inscriptions, manuscripts, and other sources, puts it twenty-nine years later. Kootob Sha, otherwise Noor Kootob Alum, died A.D. 1424, and lies buried at Poroowa.

From the episode of Gonesh nothing more is known of the history of Dinagepoor, until the reign of Hosen Sha, or, to give him his full title, Ala-ud-dunya-waddin-Abul-Mozaffar-Husen-Sha, the Alauddin who dates his reign A.D. 1497—1521.* Whatever may have been the Hindoo powers at this time, they found that Hosen Sha had a mind to keep them in order. Several of the roads he made for military purposes exist to this day, and retain the name of Nawabee-rasta. He is said to have conquered Odissa (not Orissa, but a country to the eastward of Dacca), Kamroop, and Kamcha; one of his roads leads from the neighbourhood of Gour towards Tajpoor, on the river Nagor, half way between Dinagepoor and Poorneah, where the East India Company maintained a military post in the last century, and where it is probable that the Mahomedans had a frontier force in Hosen Sha's time if not before. It is in this direction, at Hemtabad, twenty-five miles west from Dinagepoor, that the Hindoo and Mahomedan remains are to be seen, from which Buchanan came to the conclusion that one Mohesh Raja reigned here independently until conquered in the time of Hosen Sha, in which he was very probably correct, though there seem no grounds for his belief that this was the territory of Kamaca or Kamcha, conquered by that prince. It is more probable that the name refers to the temple of Kamikhya on the Nilachol, in Assam, the destruction of which by Moslem fanatics about this time is mentioned in the article on Ancient Assam already alluded to. A second road runs in the direction of Ghoraghat, by which Kamroop was entered; and a third towards Dumdumma, which an inscription at Doholdighee shows to have been in A.D. 1512 under the command of a high officer, Vazir of Mozafarabad, and High Kotwal of Firozabad, otherwise Poroowa. Probably the post was strengthened by Hosen Sha as a menace to some power near Dinagepoor, perhaps a representative of the house of Gonesh. This Hosen Sha was

* Elphinstone.

grandson of that Ibraheem Sha who was slain by Jalalooddeen as before narrated. The history of his military operations is somewhat obscure, but there are numerous indications that he found it necessary to show a strong front in the direction of Dinagepoor, as well as towards Kamroop on the other side of the Korotoyo. In subsequent reigns the Viceroys of Bengal were again more occupied with the course of events in Delhi than with their northern frontier, and in spite of the repressive measures which we presume were adopted by Hosen Sha, the Hindoo subjects of the empire, during the wars between Bengal and Delhi, which were not ended until the days of Akbar, found plenty of opportunity to make themselves wealthy and powerful.

Of the earliest history of the present Dinagepoor family there is no contemporary record, and it is necessary to trace the generations backwards from the latter half of the seventeenth century, at which time the state of affairs is well known, in order to fix the dates approximately. In A.D. 1600, Akbar divided the Empire into fifteen Soobas, and made his son Selim Soobadar of Bengal. The Sooba was divided into twenty-four Sarkars, and parts of six of these Sarkars fall within the limits of the district of Dinagepoor. About the time of Akbar's settlement there was at Dinagepoor, at the place from which Gonesh, less than two centuries before, derived his title, a man, possibly of the blood of Gonesh, in possession of a considerable part of what are now the districts of Dinagepoor and Maldah. Buchanan calls him Kasi, but, whether he is correct or not, the name is now utterly forgotten. His grave is shown at the door of the *mondeer* in the Rajbaree, and offerings of cloth, curds, rice, and plantains are regularly made upon it. His life is reputed to have been very holy, and he is spoken of as a Brahmocharee, Mohonto, or Gosain. It is said that the nucleus of his estate was certain land with which an image of Kalee, named Kalika, and worshipped to this day, was endowed; and that in addition to this he became possessed of an image of Krishno named Kaliya, endowed with the whole of the Sarkar, or Havelee, of Panjara. The estate of Dinagepore was frequently spoken of as Havelee Panjara, even when it included land in several other Sarkars. Had the estate really been a debuttar, or endowment of gods, Raja Radhanath would probably have brought the fact forward as an argument, when in A.D. 1798 he urged all in his power to prevent the sale of the land on which the Rajbaree and family temples stood; but he does not mention it, and it is probably a tradition of recent origin. It is much more probable that the estate dated from earlier times, possibly from those of Gonesh. The family tradition is that the Brahmocharee left the images of the gods, with their endowments, to his disciple, or *sisoo* Srimonto Dotto Choudharee, a

Kayasth householder who came originally from the east. The story told by Buchanan is that the Brahmocharee left a wife, who procured the reversion of the estates for a slave, through the influence of Srimonto Dotto, who was, he says, a deputy of the Kanoongo of Bengal, and who, after the death of the widow and her favourite, got the estates for himself. In the complete absence of all evidence, the family story may be accepted as the more probable of the two. Srimonto, sometimes called Srimonto Dotto, sometimes Srimonto Mitra Roy, had a son and a daughter, between whom he is said to have divided his estates equally, but, the son dying without issue, the whole came to Sookdeb Roy, the son of the daughter, who was married to one Horiram Ghos, a Koolin Kayasth. Horiram was descended from one Komol Nayan Ghos, a native of Koolai, in the Pergunna Monohorshahee in Burdwan, who was Dewan to the Zemindar of Khetlal. To Komol Nayan was born Jagada Nond, or Darikee Nond Ghos, who had several sons, one of whom, Nrisingho Ram, was the father of the aforesaid Horiram, who on marrying the daughter of Srimonto came to live at Dinagepoor, and gave up all share in his ancestral property in Burdwan. There are persons now living in Dinagepoor who claim to be descended from a brother of Sookdeb, named Bisonath, but this Bisonath does not seem to have inherited any part of the estate. Sookdeb's property as received from his grandfather Srimonto, may be roughly indicated as follows, according to the present Thana divisions of the districts. Including the whole of Thana Thakoorgaon in the north, the western boundary passes through Ranisonkoil, taking in Pergunna Borogaon, but excluding Kholora and Maldwar, and through Hemtabad, including Mohasoo, but not Tajpoor, nor any part of Thana Kaliyagunj except the northern corner which falls within Pergunna Bajitpoor. This line excludes the estates of Maldwar, Tajpoor, Horeepoor, and Chooramon, which were added to the Collectorate of Dinagepoor, A.D. 1793, but never formed any part of the zemindar's property. Passing southwards, the boundary takes in half of Thana Bongshiharee, and from Kordaho runs eastward, excluding Pergunna Kordaho, across the middle of Thana Gongarampoor, through Patiram, excluding Pergunna Sontosh, and then finally turns northwards towards Thakoorgaon, including the whole of the Thanas Chintamon Rajarampoor, Peergunj, and Beergunj. The northern and central part of the estate was in Akbar's Sarkar Panjara, the western in Sarkar Tajpoor, and Bongshiharee and part of Gongarampoor in Sarkar Jonotabad. Besides the lands within this boundary, much of the northern part of the district of Maldah, including the old city of that name, belonged to the estate.

In the time of Sookdeb, or of his father, the family of Khetlal

became extinct, and its estates were divided, seven-sixteenths coming to Sookdeb Roy, whose father and grandfather may have inherited the office of Dewan from their ancestor, and the remaining nine-sixteenths falling to another officer who founded the family of Bordonkootee or Idrakpoor, still in existence. The lands thus added to the estate are in Sarkar Ghoraghat and comprise the Thanas of Nowabgunj and Ghoraghat, and in Bogra the Thanas Khetlal, Sheebgunj, Panchbibee, Bodolgachee, and Adamdighee, and perhaps more. Buchanan says that Pergunna Khatta in Bodolgachee was conquered and divided by the Rajas of Nattore and Dinagepoor in Ramnath's time; and that Pergunna Khangor in Panchbibee was a joint acquisition with the Jahangirpoor family, in Ramnath's time; but Raja Gobindonath makes them part of Sookdeb's property. The zemindars of Dinagepoor and Idrakpoor, in place of dividing the lands, each retained a share in every village, which caused much inconvenience when in after days the one estate was under the Collectorate of Dinagepoor, while the other was under Rungpoor. Sookdeb Roy died A.D. 1677. It is said that the extent of his possessions induced the Mahomedans to bestow upon him the title of Raja but the sunnud is no longer in existence. Nothing is known of his personal character, or of his history; he perpetuated his name by digging the tank of Sookhsagor, or the "Sea of Pleasure."

Of his three sons, Ram Deb died young, Joy Deb, of whom nothing is known beyond his name, reigned from A.D. 1677 to A.D. 1682, and was succeeded in that year by the youngest brother, Prannath Roy. There is in the Rajbaree a *sunnud*, not very clearly to be deciphered, granted by Ajeemooddeen Mahomed, in the reign of Alumgeer (A.D. 1658-1707) dated A.H. 1089 (A.D. 1679), recording the succession of somebody to certain property, of which part was in the Sarkars of Tajpoor and Ghoraghat. The name of Sookdeb Roy occurs, probably as the deceased owner.

All this time the Mahomedan Viceroys of Bengal were thinking far more of Delhi than of their Hindoo subjects. Soon after Selim the Soobadar had become emperor under the name of Jahangeer, one Osman revolted in Bengal, A.D. 1612. Twelve years later Shah Jahan by force of arms made himself master of Bengal, and in his turn was defeated by Mohabat Khan; next we find Mohabat Khan answering at Delhi to charges of oppression and embezzlement during his occupation of Bengal. In A.D. 1657, Shooja, the Viceroy, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the throne at Delhi, and soon afterwards a son of Aurungzeb or Alumgeer is found in alliance with him against his father. The result of this attitude towards Delhi, persisted in by successive Governors of Bengal, while they neglected entirely the internal administration of

their province, was similar to that which had followed from the like causes in the time of Gonesh, namely, the growth of a Hindoo power which would at last have taxed the resources of the Mahomedan Governor heavily had he attempted to break it down. No such attempt, however, was made, and so long as the Zemindar of Dinagepoor paid the Soobadar of Bengal a certain portion of the rents he received, he was allowed to rule without interference over near three quarters of a million of people. Such was the position in which Prannath found himself placed, by the death of his brother in A.D. 1682.

Prannath reigned for forty years, keeping great state and maintaining numerous followers. It is said that by force or fraud he incorporated all the small zemindarees in the neighbourhood with the Dinagepoor estate, and he really appears to have made some additions to the property. Raja Gobindanauth in A.D. 1837 gave the Collector a written statement in which the estate of Sookdeb Roy is distinguished from the additions made to it by Raja Prannath and his successor Ramnath; and as the greater part of it had long since been hopelessly alienated, he had no object in concealing the truth. From this it appears that the additions made by Prannath have been greatly exaggerated, and that the property inherited by Sookdeb was very much larger than is generally supposed, or than Buchanan, who wrote in 1808, was led to believe. Prannath added to the property, how we know not, the Pergunna Maligaon, forming the eastern half of Thana Bongshiharee, and Pergunna Ajhor in Maldah, adjoining the western part of Thana Gongarampoor, besides about twelve small portions of land, most of which were surrounded by the Dinagepoor property. To the last there remained more than a hundred independent talooks or mahals within the estate. If any property was won by the sword, it was by that of Prannath and not that of his successor, but how he got possession has long been forgotten, though tradition has it that he was most unscrupulous, and made a most unjust use of his strength. Buchanan is mistaken about the inscriptions which bring his reign down to A.D. 1733, nor is it known to what he alludes. Besides several grants of land, the inscription on the temple of Kantonogor proves that it was finished and dedicated by Ramnath A.D. 1723; and sunnuds granted by Nosoruddeen and Sarfaraz Khan, on behalf of the emperor Mahomed Jahan Shah Badshah Ghazee, dated 1136 Hijra, may be taken as conclusive proof of Prannath's death and Ramnath's succession before A.D. 1724. Family papers date Prannath's death in Phalgoon 1129 Bengal Era (February—March 1723). He has commemorated his name in various parts of the district. Prannathpoor forms a considerable portion of the town of Dinagepoor; twelve miles south, the road to Moorshedabad passes along the

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edge of Pransagor, an artificial piece of water, said by Buchanan to be 2,600 feet by 800. The name signifies "The Sea of Life," but also records that of the Raja who had it dug. The banks are now covered with dense jungle, but in Ramnath's time, there was a temple to Seeb here, which the Raja endowed with a grant of land. Twenty-four miles north of Dinagepoor, on the right of the road to Darjeeling, at Prannogor, is an embankment, originally quadrilateral, but the eastern side has been cut away by the Poornabhoba. The people say that it contains the ruins of the Raja's residence, but the area is covered with heavy jungle, and there are too many tigers about for an investigation on foot. I have repeatedly beaten through it with elephants without coming across any masonry, except a very small *thakoor baree*, in ruins. The temple which Prannath built at Kantonogor, twelve miles up the Darjeeling road, is a large and beautiful specimen of a nobo-rotno, ornamented all over with terracotta reliefs, a fitting monument of the Raja's magnificence and taste. It was not quite finished when he died, but was dedicated by his successor in the same year.

It was during the reign of Prannath that Meer Jaffir became Soobadar of Bengal, A.D. 1702. His predecessors had been occupied in other directions. In A.D. 1695 Shooba Singh, a zemindar in Burdwan, with some Orissa Afghans, plundered Hooghly, and held the right bank of the river from Orissa to Rajmahal, a clear indication of the weakness of the Soobadar. Meer Jaffir, however, bestowed some attention on the affairs of the province of which he was governor. In the time of Akbar, Todarmull had made a *khas* settlement with the ryots, but it is probable that for a long time collections of revenue had been made through the zemindars, and possibly the payments had become very irregular, when Meer Jaffir made a new settlement, dividing the province into *chuklas*,* and succeeded in raising a yearly revenue of Rs. 142,00,000, Rs. 109,00,000 of which were sent to Delhi. Marshman says that the Hindoos who were appointed *chukladars* took to themselves the title of Raja, and claimed hereditary rights as zemindars. I think I have shown that Prannath's rights dated from a period anterior to his appointment of *chukladar*, which he obtained, as being obviously the proper person to collect the revenues of his estates.

Having no son, Prannath adopted as his heir a relative, named Ramnath, who paid a succession fee of Rs. 4,21,450 to the Soobadar. Ramnath is popularly believed to have been still more powerful than his predecessor, and still more unscrupulous in seizing upon the property of his neighbours. He is also believed to have

* Marshman.

been a warrior of great personal prowess; and until very lately his mail shirt and spear were shown at the Rajbaree. Buchanan was told that he and his great neighbour, the Raja of Nattore, were allies, and used to make war upon other zemindars and divide their property; but very little reliance can be placed upon these traditions, and in some cases, as in that of Pergunna Apoil, Buchanan is quite mistaken. Gobindonath's statement before mentioned, records the accession of three properties to Ramnath, each by a sunnud from the Soobadar. One gave him the property of Krishno Chondro Roy who had died intestate, comprising the southern part of Thana Potiram, and the northern part of Potnitala; the second gave him estates in Gongarampoor and in Maldah that had belonged to Kali Choron and others, and the third gave him Pergunna Kaligaon. Ramnath is said to have gone with Raja Man Singh to the court of Jahangeer, and to have received from him the title of Maharaja Bahadoor and license to make war upon his neighbours; but as Jahangeer reigned only till A.D. 1627 there must be some mistake here. Ramnath is said to have conquered a zemindar at Gobindonogor, near Thana Thakoorgaon, having employed a Brahman, founder of the family of Horee Mohun Chokrobottee, to steal his protecting deity Chamoondo, and rewarding the service by a grant of land. The Tangon shows signs of having once flowed under the walls of Gobindonogor, where the remains of the Raja's house are still standing; and from a point on the opposite bank a canal, said to have been dug by Ramnath in order to float the idol backwards and forwards, connects the Tangon with the Poornobhoba at Prannogor. The canal is called a Ramdangra, a name also applied to the moat and rampart surrounding the Rajbaree, which was rebuilt by Ramnath, and by him adorned with doorways and other carvings said to have been brought from Bannogor, and dating from the period of the Pal Rajas. If tradition could be trusted, it was not without cause that the Rajbaree was fortified, as the absence of any early sunnuds is attributed to a raid of Syed Mahomed Khan, Nazim of Rungpore, who is said to have stormed and plundered the Rajbaree in Ramnath's time. From this Raja are named Ramnogor, a part of Dinagepoor, and Rajarampoor, a mile or two east of the palace, where he built a *mondeer* with images of Kalee and Seeb for Kriporamroy, whose daughter he had married. He also dug Ramsagor, an artificial piece of water five miles down the Moorshedabad road, where the ruins of his house remained until A.D. 1786 or A.D. 1787 (when the materials were carted away), and where some of the European officers have bungalows to which they occasionally resort in the hot weather. It was during the time of Ramnath that the House of Dinagepoor is popularly believed to have attained its greatest splendour,

It is probable that he took advantage of the troubles of the Mahomedans to spend more of his rents than he remitted to the Soobadar, for whom work was found elsewhere. The Mahrattas were forcing the Mahomedans everywhere to the wall, and in A.D. 1742 plundered Moorshedabad; and, when Ramnath died, A.D. 1760, the English had for four years been giving too much trouble to the followers of the Prophet, to leave them much leisure for auditing the accounts of the zemindar of Dinagepoor.

Ramnath married four wives, and by each of them he had a son and a daughter; this is said to be the reason why the figure 4 is marked on the doorposts of the Rajbaree. He was succeeded by his eldest son Boidyonath, who called himself, as did his successors in turn, Raja Roy Bahadoor. The other sons were Kantonath, Krishnonath, and Roopnath, each called Koomar Roy Bahadoor. Kantonath was jealous of his brother's succession to the whole of this splendid inheritance; and the belief in the family is that he went to Delhi, and there succeeded in procuring his own recognition as Ramnath's successor, and that while on his way back with the necessary authority to turn his brother out, he died at Kordaho, near Dumdumma, either by drowning, or by the fall of the ceiling of a room which he occupied in the Rajbaree there; but, whatever the circumstances of his death may have been, Boidyonath is believed to this day to have had a hand in it. The true worth of this tradition is easily ascertained. Raja Boidyonath died A.D. 1780, and in December 1787 Mr. Hatch, the Collector, reports to the Board of Revenue that Kantonath died at Kordaho on his return to Dinagepoor on the 16th November in that year. If tradition only eighty-five years old can attribute a man's murder to his brother who had died seven years before, we must not rely upon it for the history of events several centuries ago. As regards Kantonath's attempt to supplant his brother, there is extant a paper dated Magh 1170, Bengal style (A.D. 1763-4), under the signature of Mahomed Jafar Khan, declaring that in spite of the sunnud procured from Mahomed Kasim on false pretences by Kantonath and Roopnath, Boidyonath is the rightful successor to Ramnath's estates in Panjara and elsewhere. Kantonath's widow Podyomookhee, and her mourning for her husband, are still remembered. In September 1797, she conveyed all her property, consisting of *lakhiraj* lands, and an income from Sayer compensation of Rs. 560, to the god Krishno, whose temple stands on the north of the Rajbaree. She lived, however, till 1804.

In addition to the property of Sookdeb, Boidyonath found himself master of the whole of Maldah between the Mahanondo and the Poornobhoba, except the Poroowa endowments. It is not quite clear to which of his predecessors he owed it; but some of it Sookdeb had held, Ajhor was certainly added by Raja

Prannath, and Shikarpoor was part of the property of Kalee Choron which came to Ramnath, who also became master of some property by arrangement with the Jahangeerpoor family, zemindars of the property now forming Thana Poorsha and the south of Thana Potnitala, and of lands beyond the southern border of Dinagepoor. I doubt whether Boidyonath added one acre to the property; but he and his predecessor alienated at least one-sixteenth of the revenues by the creation of brahmootro tenures and other endowments. The Raja is popularly believed to have been a quiet sort of man, not very strong-minded, in spite of the idea that he murdered his brother. That he had some taste for music is proved by the draft of a letter he wrote to Shyam Soondor, the Vakeel, whom, as became a great vassal, he kept at the court of Delhi, telling him to send him the celebrated musicians, Pon Khan and Mon Khan. There are several legends attaching to him, but they correspond better with the violent temper of his successor Raja Radhanath, than with the character ascribed to Boidyonath. They all illustrate the saying, "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat,*" and are quoted to show that it was the wrath of the gods that brought on the ruin of his house as a punishment for his impiety. They say that his maternal grandfather, Kriporam Roy, before mentioned as the worshipper of Kalee and Seeb, cursed him as being a Boistob or follower of Vishnoo, and made him childless. Another curse is said to have been bestowed upon him by the Brahman who served the shrine of Kalee Siddhes-horee at Bolotar near Rajarampoor, the curse of the downfall of his family, because the Raja charged the Brahman with drinking wine and eating the flesh of hogs. Moreover he was afflicted with the curse of leprosy for his lewd attempts on the virtue of the beautiful sister of Rajchondro Roy, his own sister's daughter. Perhaps these stories have no more foundation than that of his brother's murder. Some say it was Boidyonath who brought from Brindabon the image of Kantojee, now in the Kantonogor temple; he certainly built the residence adjoining it. Five years after Boidyonath's succession to the Raj, A.D. 1765, the English obtained the dewanship of Bengal, with the right of collecting the revenues, but it was not until 1772 or thereabouts that an English Collector, or Chief of the revenue, of the zemindaree of Dinagepoor was appointed; and it is probable that the increase of strictness with which the collections were made, was the true cause of the decline of the splendour in which the family had lived under its Mahomedan masters. The records of the Collector's office do not begin till 1786, but Mr. Marriott seems to have been the first Revenue Chief; in 1782 there was a Mr. Redfearn, and a Mr. Vansittart also

appears for a time to have held the office. In 1786 Mr. Hatch was appointed Collector ; and the Judgeship of Tajpoor being abolished, he was vested with judicial powers in Dinagepoor, to which was added Silberris, then a Collectorate, now forming the southern part of Bogra. Raja Boidyonath had died in 1780 leaving no son, but his widow Ranee Soroswotee adopted a boy three years old named Radhanath, son of a relation, Okol Norayan Roy ; and on the 31st July 1780, Mr. Warren Hastings, on the payment of a succession fee of seven hundred and thirty mohurs, signed the sunnud declaring Raja Radhanath the successor to Raja Boidyonath Bahadoor, and detailing the lands of which the estate was composed. Buchanan speaks of a brother of Boidyonath's, named Ram Kanto Roy ; but he probably confuses Koomar Kantonath with a person named Ram Kanto Roy of whom I shall speak presently. For the first two years after the death of Raja Boidyonath, the revenues of Dinagepoor were farmed by Raja Debee Singh of Dilaworpoor, who had also a farm of the Rungpoor revenues ; he paid more to Government than the estates ever produced before or since, but with such oppression and villany, that he and some of his people were degraded and kept in confinement until 1791, when sentence was given, directing certain refunds, the cancelment of some fraudulent purchases of land, and Debee Singh's perpetual banishment from the districts. His machinations in Rungpoor are called an insurrection, but we know not what they were. After the farm of Debee Singh the revenues were farmed by one Janokee Ram Singh, a brother of the Ranee Soroswotee, at a net yearly rental of Rs. 12,75,968 ; but he does not appear to have understood the strictness of the English revenue system, and although he collected regularly enough from the ryots, his payments to the Collector fell considerably into arrear. He kept great state in the Rajbaree, and dug the tanks of Anondosagor and Matasagor and the canal connecting them. He came from Kotalpota, Pergunna Patoolee, in Burdwan.

When Mr. Hatch came, the officers of the zemindaree found that a firm hand held the reins. In November 1786, by the Board's orders, Janokee Ram was allowed three days to make good his balance ; the collections had all been placed in the hands of Sazawols, but with the understanding that Janokee should again be made manager if he paid up his balances. He tried to raise the money but in vain ; he attempted to swindle the bankers into lending him money on the security of collections which he had already made and expended, and at last, by the Board's orders, he was sent in charge of peons to the presidency. Thence he indited petition after petition, charging Mr. Hatch with various offences which were satisfactorily disproved, and he appears to have died in Calcutta about 1790. In June 1787

Ram Kanto Roy was installed as manager of the Dinagepoor estates, his cutcherry being a Government office and the Collector's servants attending daily to check the collections. Every detail of the management was supervised by Mr. Hatch, the estate being divided into sixty-four zillas, each under a tahsildar, who collected from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 1,00,000, receiving a percentage, while each ryot's lands were measured, and he paid rent according to the quantity and quality of his land, irrespective of the crops grown.

The revenues of the estate were well managed, but it was long before the mischievous practices of Janokee Ram ceased to bear fruit. He had raised large sums of ready money by sub-letting lands at a low rent, and the annual income of the zemindar suffered accordingly until the Collector had re-settled all the tenures. In spite however of the good management, I believe that at this time the Raja's income was injured by the abolition of numerous illegal cesses, which had been collected by his predecessors, but which could not be brought under the denomination of the Sayer for the abolition of which compensation was given, and which nevertheless is collected to this day by the proprietors in the district, though Government no longer receives ten-elevenths of it. The cesses referred to are transit duties on salt and other goods, the right of seizing the property of intestate persons, and taxes on birdcatchers, tom-tom beaters, and dealers in intoxicating drugs and the like.

Ram Kanto Roy's father and grandfather had been settled in Dinagepoor, but he was of a Burdwan family, being descended from Horee Narayan the brother of Horeeram, to whom the latter, on marrying Srimonto Dotto's daughter, had ceded his ancestral property. The descendant of his nephew, Baboo Radha Gobindo Roy, is now one of the wealthiest zemindars in Dinagepoor. Ram Kanto in 1793 bought the pergunna Ambaree, now in Dinagepoor, but then a portion of the estate of the Raja of Rajshahye, sold for arrears of revenue, like many others, soon after the Decennial Settlement. The Raja of Dinagepoor had bid up to Rs. 2,500 for it. Subsequently, during the Raja's difficulties, Ram Kanto Roy lent him large sums of money on mortgage, and so became the owner of property subsequently inherited by his nephew.

Irritated by the treatment of her brother Janokee Ram, Ranee Soroswotee maintained constantly an attitude of stubborn defiance towards the Government, Mr. Hatch, and Ram Kanto Roy. Her *koomar* lands, 11,843 bighas of the best cultivated land in the district, brought her in seventeen or eighteen thousand rupees annually, and she was under no necessity to submit and ask for a pension. She and one Mozoomdar buried the accounts of Janokee Ram's managership under ground; she refused to give up the

late Raja's seal, and she kept young Radhanath from Ram Kanto Roy, who had been directed to superintend his education. The folly and extravagance which afterwards led to the young Raja's ruin may be attributed in great measure to the lessons learnt in the Ranee's apartments. She took advantage of the boy's being somewhat indisposed to obtain possession of his person, and then held him as a hostage, refusing to give him up until the resumed *moshahara* or allowance, as well as the sums which had been improperly alienated by the zemindar—such as a payment of Rs. 7,700 to Brahmans as *birt*, but which had on investigation been re-annexed to the revenue payable to Government—should be again allowed to her. Twenty years before a Burdwan Ranee, for similar contumacy, had been dealt with in a manner which afforded a precedent; and in July 1790, Ranee Soroswotee was removed from the Rajbaree, and sent to Gobindonogor, thirty-six miles off, where the family had a residence. She got as far as Kantonogor only and stayed there for two months, before going on to Gobindonogor, and in April of next year she was back in her old apartments at the Rajbaree, on the excuse that all the thatched sheds on the premises at Gobindonogor had been burnt down. In the mean time her *koomar* lands had been annexed to the family estate, and in lieu of them she was allowed a pension of fifteen hundred rupees a month; and as this was withheld until she complied with orders, Raja Boidyonath's seal, which had been affixed to documents in a most improper manner, was at last given up. She mortgaged her pension for some years to one Manockjee Parsee, probably for money to enable her worthless brother Janokee Ram to prosecute his charges against Mr. Hatch; and some of Raja Radhanath's expenditure may have been on the same account. The private resources of the family were heavily burdened for years for this cause, and I have been told that Raja Taroknath paid, as the last instalment of debts incurred on account of Janokee Ram, a lakh and a half of rupees. The Ranee's feelings of hostility against the British rule are pardonable. Her husband for twenty years reigned almost as an independent prince, and after his death, her brother Janokee Ram had maintained an equal state. Suddenly her brother was called upon to pay his revenue with a punctuality never known before, and on default was sent in custody to Calcutta, and she never saw him again. The collections of the estate were taken entirely out of the hands of the family, and even the expense of repairs of the Rajbaree, and the monthly wages of the servants, were defrayed by Government officers without reference to her wishes. The herd of buffaloes belonging to the Rajbaree was sent to the uncultivated part of the district as a public nuisance, and many of the consecrated cattle were sold. The Ranee was not even allowed to take care

of her adopted son, nine or ten years old, but he was made over for education to the manager, Ram Kanto Roy, for whom she had a strong personal aversion. At the same time the income of the zemindaree was being decreased by the abolition of all the illegal taxes and cesses which the Rajas had collected as long as she could remember, and by the determination of Government that the family charities were to be paid out of the privy purse and not out of the imperial revenue as heretofore. She was naturally in no temper to look on Mr. Hatch's reforms as beneficial, or to acquiesce in the action of Government.

In January 1792, Raja Radhanath commenced his sixteenth year and was placed in charge of his estates; Ram Kanto Roy submitted his accounts as manager, and the Board of Revenue expressed themselves highly pleased with his conduct. The Decennial Settlement had been concluded two years before, and the Raja was to pay a yearly revenue of Rs. 14,44,107 for the first two years, and then Rs. 14,84,107. This will give some idea of the extent of his estates, as the total land revenue of the present Collectorate of Dinagepoor is now under Rs. 18,00,000. For a year and more all went smoothly; but when, in March 1793, Mr. Hatch was promoted to a seat on the Board of Revenue, his successor, Mr. John Eliot, soon found reason to be dissatisfied with the management of affairs at the Rajbaree. The Ranee had surrounded the Raja with the old servants of Janokee Ram, the two Mojoomdars and others; and in spite of positive orders from the Board they were turning out the tahseeldars of Mr. Hatch's appointment, and the Raja was receiving sums of money to appoint improper persons in their room. Mr. Eliot found satisfaction in believing that the Raja listened attentively to his advice, but the objectionable changes continued, and he saw no hope of amendment except in the banishment of the Mojoomdars and their company, and sending the Ranee back to Gobindonogor. The Raja admitted signing blank papers and giving them to the amlas to make what use they pleased of them.

In April 1794, the Governor General directed that Raja Radhanath should be deprived of the management of his estates; his seal was locked up in the Collector's treasury, and Ram Kanto Roy was again installed as manager. Mr. Eliot used to make the young Raja come and read to him twice a week and write him a letter daily, and flattered himself that he was fitting him for the duties of his position. In October 1795 Mr. Eliot became Judge of Tippera, and Mr. Morgan, Assistant Collector, was in charge of the office until June 1796, when Mr. Cornelius Bird arrived as Collector.

When Raja Radhanath was for the second time placed in charge of his property is not quite clear, but it was before Janu-

ary 1797, when he already owed Rs. 69,677 on account of revenue, and the decree went forth from the Board to sell some of his lands. The unfortunate young man was then only twenty years of age, but neither Mr. Bird nor the Board appear to have hesitated as to the propriety of breaking up the great Dinagepoor estate. The first sale was cancelled for informality, but in February 1798, in spite of the Collector's certifying that owing to drought the ryots had not been able to pay their rents, further sales were ordered, and yet, at the end of the Bengalee year, April 1798, more than half a lakh of revenue remained unpaid, month after month instalments became due, and lot after lot was sold. The Raja was raising money on mortgage, Ram Kanto Roy being one of his principal creditors, and he saved some part of his estate by purchasing the lots in false names; while his wife Ranee Tripoorra Soondaree bought lands paying a revenue of near Rs. 50,000, and old Ranee Soroswotee bought others paying Rs. 21,517; but little was saved out of the wreck of so great an argosy, for by the end of 1800 everything had been sold, and the Raja was a prisoner, unable to leave the Rajbaree because his private creditors were endeavouring to seize his person and throw him into the common jail. On the 26th January 1801, having just completed his twenty-fourth year, he died. Mr. Bird, who had been the instrument of his ruin, had died on the 3rd June, and Mr. Courtney Smith was now the Collector. Whatever may have been the merits of the policy which broke up this large estate, there can be no question but that it was carried out with extreme harshness. The rule was sternly adhered to, of selling to the highest bidder; Dinagepoor is a long way from Calcutta, Moorshedabad, Patna, or Dacca, and bears an evil reputation of unhealthiness, and no one from a distance cared to inquire whether the purchase of land in the district would be a good investment. The competition was left entirely to the servants of the estate, to the amla of Government, and to those few zemindars who had not been ruined by the Decennial Settlement, and the consequence was that the lots into which the property had been divided sold for much less than their value, some of them not bringing so much as the annual revenue assessed upon them, which an experience of a dozen years had shown them well able to pay. The only purchasers who were on the spot were unable to bid higher. In one way the Raja derived from this some slight benefit, for a few lots were bought in by the ladies of his family, his wife selling her jewels, and Ranee Soroswotee having as much as Janokee Ram's embarrassments had left her of her monthly pension of fifteen hundred rupees. Unless it was resolved that the Raja of Dinagepoor was too powerful for a subject, and therefore that as soon

as a pretext offered his estates were to be broken up, which nowhere appears to have been the feeling of Government, it is difficult to see why a fair upset price should not have been fixed on each lot, and if no one bid up to that price, the lot sequestered and put under the management of Government officers. The indirect profits of the zemindars are so much greater than the legitimate ones, which under Government management are all that are carried to credit, that possession of the estate is worth having, and the dispossession indicated would as effectually secure the punctual payment of Government revenue, as the absolute alienation of the estates. The swarm of *lotdars*, many of them absentees, who took the place of the ancient gentry, have not done much for the country.

Raja Radhanath appears to have been a weak young man, worked upon by the old Ranees's stories of the greatness of his family and the advice of interested servants, and to have regulated his expenditure rather by the example of his predecessors who had lived under the lax rule of the Mahomedans, than by the actual income which he received under the strict revenue system of the East India Company. He is said to have been fond of liquor, and once in his cups to have so severely injured a man, that he had to bribe the Police Darogha with a quarter of a lakh to hold his tongue. He was also fond of hunting and riding on horseback, and probably had he always had a man of strong will like Mr. Hatch near him, he might have come to some good, but the people are fond of telling stories of his hatred of the Europeans, and his impertinence to them. Once, they say, the European officers asked leave to occupy a house he had at Shahapoor for a few days' sport. He said the house was in ruins, and at once sent off people to dismantle it, but, as is usual with Dinagepoor work-people, they did not go for some days, and the English gentlemen, who had pitched their tents, saw them deliberately pull the roof off a house that was in excellent order. On another occasion an English officer was calling on the Raja when the mallee came in and gave a nosegay to each of the company; the Englishman after a while began to pick the flowers to pieces, and one of the Mojoomdars who was present laughed, and made a coarse allusion to the habits of monkeys. The insult was so palpable that the Englishman left the Rajbaree in high displeasure, and it is popularly believed that this incident caused an ill-feeling which eventually led to the sale of the Raja's estates. All agree in considering the Mojoomdars, who were Boidyos of Rajnagor near Dacca, as the persons to whose advice the Raja owed his ruin. It is said that one day, when the enormous load of debt under which the Raja was labouring had become notorious, some of his principal ryots proposed that he should give them an audience

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and state the extent of his difficulties, and promised to help him. The Raja had a tent pitched for the purpose, dressed himself as became a solemn ceremonial, and was on his way to the place when he met one of the Mojoomdars, who ridiculed the idea of his degrading himself by the exhibition of his person before such people, and induced him to relinquish his intention, and with it all hope of extrication from his difficulties.

With the death of Radhanath the history of the Dinagepoor Raj may be said to come to an end. He left no son, but his widow and Ranee Soroswotee continued to live at the Rajbaree. The former adopted a child named Gobindonath, who was not old enough to take possession of the remnant of the family estates until the 9th July, 1817. In the meantime the stout old Ranee Soroswotee managed the property in the name of the heirs of her adopted son. Raja Gobindonath had two sons, one of whom, Troilokhnath, died childless before his father, and the other, Taroknath, succeeded on Gobindonath's death in 1841. Raja Taroknath died in 1865, and left the estates to Ranee Sham Mohinee his widow; she adopted a son named Grijonath, during whose minority she manages the property with the assistance of Baboo Khetro Mohun Singh, who married a daughter of the late Raja. The yearly revenue paid by the estates is Rs. 1,73,240, but whereas the private income of a zemindar paying such a revenue at the time of the Decennial Settlement would have been only Rs. 17,324, it is now near Rs. 1,20,000. When Raja Grijonath comes of age, he will be the principal zemindar in the district; and though not in the position of his ancestors Prannath, Ramnath, and Boidyonath, the people will always look on him as Raja of Dinagepoor.

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ART. II.—A NATIVE STATESMAN.

- 1.—*Copies of official papers sent from India, touching the recent disturbances in Travancore.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th August, 1859.
- 2.—*Selections from the Records of Travancore.* Parts I., II., III., and IV. Printed at the instance of F. Maltby, Esq., British Resident in Travancore.
- 3.—*Reports on the Administration of Travancore.* By Sir Mádhava Ráo—from 1861 to 1870. Printed at the Travancore Sirkar Press.
- 4.—*Indian Journals.*
- 5.—*The "Travancore Gazette."*
- 6.—*Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds.* By C. U. Aitchison, B.C.S.

THE rise of the British Empire in India will, for all time to come, be one of the most wonderful and glorious landmarks in the history of the world. The first English settlers at Surat could have as little had before their mind's eye the Indian Empire of the present, as Æneas and his fellow-settlers had the Empire of Trajan. How from small and humble beginnings the British Indian Empire grew, what overwhelming difficulties and disasters it had to contend against, how vast the achievements of its great Generals and Proconsuls have been, what extensive changes, morally and physically, it has worked out, are all matters of history with which every intelligent reader is familiar. There is one important truth which cannot escape an observant student of history. It is that while the physical monuments, however mighty and stupendous, which the wisdom and prowess of a conquering race may rear up in the conquered land, fade and vanish by the unrelenting process of time, the deep moral leavening effected by civilised conquerors continues to assert itself and fructify. The wall of Antoninus in the land of the Scots is hardly traceable at present; but the substratum in the civilisation of Britain which the great Roman conquerors laid is as visible as ever. Similarly a thousand years hence all material vestiges of British rule in India, our railways, our tunnels, our telegraphs, our bridges, our lighthouses, our dockyards, our barracks, &c., may simply be in the forms of ruins and remnants interesting to the antiquary; but the steady and all-powerful moral revolution which, by precepts and examples, we are working out, will ever be a living element, and one progressively operative.

Whatever may be the defects in the system and in the management of State education in India, it is beyond doubt that one great result is being steadily accomplished. It is that the people, in so far as they come under the influence of education, do think and reason ; and this great spring, when once set in motion, must inevitably produce consequences, the extent and importance of which are beyond prediction. It needs no great efforts to show that the most inviting field to which a mind sharpened and invigorated by education would turn is that of politics. It is particularly so in a land which has for thousands of years been the scene of the most wonderfully great and stirring political dramas, and is at present under the enlightened despotism of a foreign nation. There are alarmists who apprehend not only danger to our sway in India, but the worst evils to its people themselves from this enlivening of political ambition by means of education. Those, however, who have even an approximate idea of British resources and of the moral stamina of British character, will find it hard even to imagine the day when a combined army of Bengális, Púrbiáhs, Sikhs, Parsís, and Madrassís, under a Bábu Wellington and a Chetti Blucher, shall be seen driving us at the bayonet's point into the Indian Ocean. But the day may come, though it is as yet indefinitely distant, when the British Government of India shall present to the world the noblest spectacle it has yet beheld, by making over to the people of India, when they shall have fitted themselves for its rule, this magnificent Empire, enlightened and ennobled under British guardianship. If our State education is tending, however imperfectly, towards this consummation, its aim is of the most elevated nature. And we cannot be oblivious to the fact that such must be its inevitable, if tardy, tendency. The educated natives who have risen to the uppermost ranks, though yet few in number, have done full honour to their nationality, and have been full of promise as to the future success of their countrymen. Any nation may be proud of men of cultivation like Rámaprasád Roy, Sambhu Náth Pandit, or Bábu Rájendra Lál Mitra. The sight is even more interesting and encouraging when provinces are seen to rise from anarchy, misery, and ignorance, to order, prosperity, and enlightenment under the magical wand of a Dinkar Ráo, a Salár Jang, or a Mádhava Ráo. The last of these has closed his official career in Travancore, which under him justly earned the title of a "model Native State;" and we propose to present to our readers in these pages the leading features of that career, which can hardly fail to be interesting.

Sir Mádhava Ráo belongs to one of those adventurous Mahratta families which, mingling with the great wave of conquest that during the last two centuries surged to the south

through the Dekkan and made Tanjore the chief outpost of the Mahratta Empire in the south, settled in that part of India. His great-grandfather Gopál Pant, and his grandfather Gundo Pant, held offices of trust both under Native chiefs and under the rising British power. The great events of the latter part of the last century in Southern India, and the rising power of Britain amidst great political struggles, could not have escaped the astute perception of a Mahratta family which had adopted politics as its profession; and Venkat Ráo, the eldest son of Gundo Pant, cast his lot in the British service. Being recommended by his official superior Mr. Hebron to Colonel McDouall, then Resident of Travancore, he entered the service of that State; which under an enlightened Lady-Regent and the able statesmanship of Colonel Munro, had been freed from long-standing abuses and had risen high in good government. He soon rose to the highest office—that of Dewan or Prime Minister. He distinguished himself highly in that office, and the works of public utility effected under his auspices bear testimony to the excellence of his administration even to this day. On his retirement from the Travancore service, the Government appointed him to the Mysor Commission; and Lord William Bentinck conferred on him the title of “Ráya Ráya Ráya,” an honorific prefix which only one other man* in South India obtained after him. His brother Ranga Ráo stuck more to the British service, but when Deputy Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, he was called to Travancore, where he rose to his brother's office, and though he held it only for a short period, he was a terror to evil-doers. Soon after his retirement from Travancore he died, leaving three sons, of whom Sir Mádhava Rao is the youngest.

About thirty years ago, Lord Elphinstone, then Governor of Madras, gave an impetus to high English education in Southern India which has borne the happiest fruits. Under the auspices of this large-minded nobleman and a staff of able advisers like Mr. George Norton and Mr. John Bruce Norton—both in their days leaders of the Madras Bar—the “High School,” or as it was sometimes complimentarily called, the “University,” was established. Mr. Powell, C.S.I., now Director of Public Instruction, then fresh from Cambridge, where he had earned academic distinction, entered upon his duties with all the hope, zeal, and earnestness of the first tiller of a rich virgin soil. Young Mádhava Ráo had the good fortune to be one of the very first set of recruits that came up to be drilled by this excellent educational tactician. Gifted naturally with the highest order of talents yet

* Thande Narsing Rao, who was of Revenue, and retired during Sir Head Sheristadar of the Madras Board C. Trevelyan's governorship.

displayed by India, Mádhava Ráo pursued his studies with an industry, a perseverance, and a singleness of purpose which were fully rewarded. This period of the healthy infancy of English education in Madras was, on a recent occasion, tersely alluded to by the Hon'ble A. J. Arbuthnot, then Acting Governor, in these words:—

“ Now, gentlemen, I should be disposed to divide the first* of these periods into two portions, and to take as a distinct epoch the educational measures framed by Lord Elphinstone's Government in 1841. It is due to the memory of that distinguished nobleman; it is due to those who commenced their labours under his direction; it is especially due to our friend the Director of Public Instruction, to whom education in this Presidency owes so much, to whose early educational labours the public service of this Presidency is so largely indebted, that we should not confound the period to which I refer with that which immediately preceded it. It was during the period to which I allude that there was being trained up for the kingdom of Travancore, which, for some years past, has been justly regarded as a model Native State, a Native statesman, who first in the capacity of tutor to the heir of the throne, and afterwards in the capacity of minister, has largely aided in raising that State to its present position. It was during that period that there was being educated a native member† of our local Legislative Council, an institution at that time unthought of, who, I am bold to say, whether as regards the uprightness of his character, the excellence of his judgment, the honesty of his purpose, or the independence of his action, has not his superior in any one of the legislative bodies now at work in this great Indian Empire. It was during that period, that our friend Sashiah Sástri,‡ whom we all, Europeans and Natives alike, so highly esteem and value, was being fitted by a liberal education for the performance of those important duties, in which almost from his first entrance into the public service he has been employed, and which he has discharged so faithfully and so well.”

* * * * *

Mr. Arbuthnot, himself the first Director of Public Instruction in Madras, who has throughout his official life made education

* Mr. Arbuthnot was here making allusion to a lengthy letter addressed to the Madras Government by Doctor John Murdoch, of the C. V. E. Society, on education generally and a portion of Vernacular literature particularly, in which he confounded the well-meant but barren educational movement of Sir

T. Munro, with the highly fruitful one of Lord Elphinstone.

† The Honourable V. Rámaiengar, C. S.I.

‡ Head Sheristadar in the Board of Revenue, and now tentatively Dewan of Travancore in succession to Sir Mádhava Ráo.

his special study, and to whom all the recent educational movements in that Presidency are chiefly owing, carries great weight in all that he says touching education in India. Let us again hear him on the *quality* of education imparted by the "High School" in those days. On an occasion very similar to the one just alluded to, he observed:—

"Of late I have been at the pains of enquiring from persons of experience as to the present state of education, and forming an opinion if graduates who go up and obtain honours are more highly educated than the proficientes of the old High School or not; and from the accounts I have received, I find that the proficientes of the old High School are better educated and possess more general information than those who, of late years, have obtained the Bachelor of Arts degree. I believe that students now-a-days find their studies more laborious in consequence of their being confined to certain text-books with the view of passing a certain examination. The effect of this constant application is that it enervates them very much. Another reason is that pupils in the junior classes do not attend as they ought to their instruction, and when they are advanced to the higher classes they are obliged to work more unremittingly, which leads them to the system of 'cram,' which is so much decried in consequence of its being carried to excess."

We see then that in the days of the High School, "cram" had not laid its iron grasp on the neck of education; and Mádhava Ráo was one of the brightest of that glorious band of schoolboys, to whom a sound, varied, and impressive education was imparted. His scholastic career extended over about six years, during which he once acted for Mr. Powell for a short time; which, considering that there were European junior masters of no mean abilities at the time, must be taken as a solid compliment to his worth. In 1846 he received his "First class Proficient's Degree" and Seal from the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale, who had succeeded Lord Elphinstone in the Madras Governorship. Early in 1847 he got an appointment in the Accountant-General's office, in which he continued for a little more than two years.

We must now turn to Travancore, the scene of Mádhava Ráo's successful labours. Mahárájá Mártandavarmah had succeeded his elder brother in the sovereignty of that principality at the end of 1846. The germ of the financial crisis, which afterwards attained no small magnitude, was then budding. Lieutenant-General William Cullen of the Madras Artillery, the "handsome adjutant" of his youthful days, and who in a remarkable manner possessed the chief traits of character of the fine "old Indian," was the Resident-Nawáb at the Court of Travancore. His *protégé*, the amiable but feeble Krishna Ráo, was Dewan

General Cullen, with all his failings, was himself proud of his scholastic attainments, and valued the advantages of education in others. He strongly urged on the Mahárájá the necessity of giving a good English education to his nephews; and recommended the choice of a well-educated man, fresh from his own collegiate course, as tutor to the young princes. Fortunately for Travancore, there was not wanting a precedent for the introduction of a foreigner, under the auspices of the British Government, to educate the Princes of the State. Subhá Ráo, also a native of Tanjore, entered the Travancore service as English tutor to the three young princes, almost simultaneously with Venkat Ráo, whom long afterwards he succeeded in the Dewanship. Subhá Ráo owed his first appointment to Colonel McDouall. With a view to procure a competent tutor, General Cullen naturally made a reference to Madras; and the choice being left to the then leading men there, as Mr. Daniel Elliot, Sir Henry Montgomery, Mr. George Norton, &c., it unanimously fell, at a lucky moment for Travancore, on young Mádhava Ráo. All of them highly recommended him to the Mahárájá through the Resident; and Mádhava Ráo's noblest aspirations were stirred at the prospect of making his *début* on the stage on which two of his ancestors had figured so prominently. He took, however, the advice of his best and most discerning friends; and what course they counselled may be gathered from the words of one of them. "I remember, when some years since he was offered the situation of tutor to the young Travancore princes, he came to ask my advice as to his course. After pointing out to him that it was his bounden duty to accept the office, because if he excited in the breasts of those young princes a thirst for knowledge and a love of virtue, he might become the benefactor of millions of his countrymen, I bade him question his own heart, whether he had strength enough to withstand the perils and temptations of a corrupt Native Court. He went; and nobly has he stood the ordeal."* * * * Thus morally fortified he went to Travancore in July 1849, and took charge of his important duties.

Among his royal pupils were the present Mahárájá, and his brother, the First Prince. He continued to discharge these duties for four and a half years. The amount of success which crowned his labours has been admitted on all hands to be equal to the highest expectations. It may be observed that one of his pupils, the First Prince, was made a Fellow of the Madras University a year before Mádhava Ráo's own admission into the Senate. The Prince was also alluded to in flattering terms by Lord Napier in the Viceregal Legislative

* Speech by Mr. J. B. Norton, late Twelfth Anniversary of Patcheappa's Advocate-General at Madras, at the Charities, 1855.

Council in speaking of the late Lord Mayo's earnest endeavours to secure the aid of competent natives in Indian legislation. It is bare justice to the memory of General Cullen to say that he took a very lively interest in the education of the princes and rendered every aid and encouragement. In April 1853, Mádhava Ráo was appointed to a responsible office in the revenue line under the Dewan. This appointment by the Mahárájá was made with the heartiest concurrence of General Cullen.

Turning to the general administration of Travancore at that time, we may say without exaggeration that it in a measure rivalled that of Oudh before annexation. The Blue Book which we have placed at the head of this article presents to us the gloomiest picture which one could expect even in an Asiatic kingdom. The immediate occasion for the publication of the papers contained in it, was the serious disturbances which arose in the southern districts of Travancore soon after the proclamation announcing Her Majesty's assumption of the direct government of India was known to the masses; and when the women of the Shánárs (toddy-drawers) relying upon its pledges of protection and perfect freedom, assumed, contrary to former usage, coverings to the upper part of their persons; and when the Súdras, the higher caste, violently opposed this innovation. But the papers give an interesting *résumé* of the events of some years before this. No. 14 in this collection is a memorandum by the Madras Government, dated March 1858. It begins with saying — "Petitions from Travancore are numerous enough."

"In the year 1855, however, complaints of mal-administration had become so frequent and so urgent, that the Madras Government were led to form the opinion that a formal investigation was imperative. The cases which particularly attracted their attention were eight in number. A *précis* of these eight cases was prepared in October 1856 by Mr. Norman, Deputy Secretary to Government; it follows below:—

- A.—Arrears of salaries of public servants.
- B.—The memorial of one Emanuel Class.
- C.—Petition of the Rev. John Cox.
- D.—Petition of the Rev. T. O. Whitehouse.
- E.—The Edapilly Murder Case.
- F.—Petition of the Rev. F. Baylis.
- G.—A joint petition of certain missionaries, complaining that convicted criminals are employed in high offices.
- H.—A joint petition from the same, containing more general charges of mal-administration and corruption.

In noticing case A, "the Government did not think the causes assigned for the arrears were satisfactory; they observed that it was admitted that two months' arrears existed, and trusted that

such a state of things would be avoided in future." Referring to case C, the Government observe that—"On the 9th March, 1855, the Rev. John Cox, one of the missionaries in Travancore, forwarded several petitions from native converts, complaining of specific acts of oppression and violence against them as Christians. He complained that the whole of the Sirkar officials, with the Dewan at the head of them, were in league to oppress and insult the Christians; and that the good intentions of the Rájá were neutralised; and that appeals to the Resident were not only useless, but marked the appellant for further oppression. He pledged his veracity, as a Christian minister, that the grossest oppression existed, and that torture so severe as to cause death was practised." One of these petitions was "from Chinnái, the widow of Devasaháyam. It sets forth that her husband, herself, and others, were seized and confined for refusing to sign an agreement, binding themselves to do palace work without pay. Her husband was shockingly ill-treated, and died from the effects of the torture; she and the others were released after six days' confinement in the stocks. It states further, that appeals to the Resident were disregarded." The Resident's explanation on this count was that certain Shánárs, whose duty it was to to serve in the Rání's palace, refused to do so. They were, therefore, called before the Palace Káryakár for enquiry. The Hindú part of the Shánár admitted their fault and were released, but the converts refused to admit their guilt; so they were confined, and six weeks after their release Devasaháyam died of dysentery; they suffered no hardship while confined; they may have been ill-treated in the Palace, but that they were so ill-treated as to result in the death of one of them, is not to be believed.

To the Resident's explanation on this and other points, Mr. Cox put in a rejoinder; and "the Right Honorable Lord Harris considered that 'the case, as stated by Mr. Cox, was very strong.'"

Case E. is the 'Edapilly Murder Case.'

"Edapilly is a petty quasi-independent state in the north of Travancore. The Rajah (a Númbári Bráhmaṇ) and the heir apparent (the 'Velia' and 'Ilaya,' or elder and younger Rajahs) are at feud.

"On the 18th September 1852 some ruffians broke into the house of one Krishnan Elayadam, and beat him so severely that he died within 30 days.

"The house where Elayadam was living was situated in a garden which was the bone of contention between the two Rajahs.

* * * * *

"The case was examined by order of the Dewan, but nothing was proved.

"That result did not please the Ilaya Rajah, who forwarded substantial inducements to the Dewan, who had all the prisoners apprehended, and taken to Trevandrum, 160 miles ; then to Quilon, 46 miles ; and then to Kalikuttam, 26 miles from Quilon, where there is a small cutcherry in a lonely spot. Here the Dewan ordered Muhidin Beg, the Police Duffadar, to torture the prisoners, to extort a confession from them ; sixth prisoner was suspended from the hair of his head, and beaten on the neck and chest with a stone. Karulan Govindan, first prisoner, had two of his teeth knocked out in the presence of Vencatramana Ayan ; and after four hours of torture, the prisoners all confessed, and were committed to the Trevandrum Criminal Court for trial upon this evidence.

"Sixth prisoner died from the beating, &c., at the door of the Criminal Court ; the Dewan refused to give the body to the prisoner's friends (who wished for a *post mortem* examination), and declared that the death was caused by 'bloody flux.'

"The 25th prisoner also died on the 20th June from injuries received. The Criminal Court examined officially the scars on the prisoners, and torture was fully proved to their satisfaction against the Dewan and Venkataramana Ayan.

* * * * *

"A vacancy existing in the Appeal Court, the Resident, on the recommendation of the Dewan, appointed the very Police Sheristadar, Venkataramana Ayan, who tortured the prisoners, and directed that he should be specially appointed to try the case."

Indeed, this case appears to throw into the shade the worst charges against Ali Nukhi Khan of Oudh.

Under F. the Reverend F. Baylis states that, "the Deputy Peshkar does all he can to assist the robbers and oppress the poor, especially Christians."

G. and H. were united petitions from all the missionaries in South Travancore. They reiterated the individual complaints, and embodied many more bearing upon the general oppression, lawlessness, official corruption, and misrule, which had reached their climax. The contents of H. are thus summarised in the memorandum :

"I. The police is a tremendous engine of oppression : for,

(1) Prisoners are confined for very long periods without investigation (at the moment).

(2) Many are acquitted after a long imprisonment, being all the time innocent ; some have just been released who suffered five years' imprisonment.

(3) Many are imprisoned without any specific charge ; whence release is impossible ; no door is open to the cry of the prisoners who

die in gaol, though a monthly return of persons confined is sent to the Resident.

(4) * * * Prisoners are repeatedly tortured in prison.

(5) The Regulations are systematically set aside throughout the country; not only in the Courts but everywhere; appeal to the Resident is vain; he refers to the Dewan, who himself practises all such atrocities, such as false imprisonment, torture, &c., but uniformly shields his subordinates.

(6) * * * * *

(7) Real criminals are suffered to be at large, committing fresh outrages, and intimidating any witnesses of their crimes.

(8) Real complaints are unheeded; nothing can be done without extensive bribery.

(9) The police officers not only receive bribes to let off thieves, but retain the stolen property.

(10) Complaints against Government officials are quite hopeless. The consequences always recoil upon the complainants.

"II. The character of the high Government officials is bad.

(1) Convicted criminals are appointed to the most responsible offices, among which are the Accountant-General and Deputy Peshkar.

(2) Men grossly and notoriously incompetent are posted to high appointments.

(3) And new offices are created for these men.

(4) Every appointment has its price; and when offices are filled by such men, it is no wonder that their official power is abused 'to extort bribes, to pervert justice, oppress the weak, shield the guilty, promote favorites, and amass large private fortunes. * * * *

(5) The Sirkar officials are not paid regularly; of this there can be no doubt, and all the evils inseparable from such a system are entailed upon the people.

"III. * * * The appeal Court is packed. * * * Thus is the whole channel of justice corrupt, and the whole country groans under the pressure of the enormous evil.

"IV. The forced labour system exists to a great extent.

(1) In many cases a nominal equivalent is rendered which is practically worthless. And this state of vassalage is compulsorily perpetuated.

(2) Supplies are in many cases extorted *gratis*; codjans for covering the Sirkar buildings, leaves for the elephants' fodder, bunches of plantains for festivals, fish for the table of the chief Europeans at Trevandrum, &c.

(3) * * * * *

(4) Free men are also pressed into slavery. The palace authorities compelled and do compel men to sign documents, making themselves slaves. * * * This oppression literally consumes the people.

"V. Immeasurable evils arise from the pepper, salt, and cardamom, monopoly. * * * They impoverish the people without increasing the revenue, and demoralise and oppress the inhabitants."

On this, the Madras Government made a reference to the

Government of India, in which they said that "considering the very grave charges contained in the petition, corroborated in some measure by the continual petitions from natives of the country, it appeared to them that investigation of some sort was imperative." They sent up the petitions, and also copies of the two Treaties of 1797 and 1805. Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General at the time; and he always condemned half measures which are indicative of weakness. He disapproved the proposal for an enquiry; but instructed the Local Government, under the Ninth Article of the Treaty of 1805, to give to the Rájá a "formal and forcible expression of the sentiments of the British Government on the abuses which appeared to prevail, with suitable advice and warning." Shattered in health by eight years of official toil of an unparalleled nature, the Marquis of Dalhousie was seeking relief in the bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, was with him. It was from this place that the letter of advice and warning, dated 21st November 1855, was forwarded to the Rájá. Though signed by Lord Harris, the letter was full of that imperial ring which could have been imparted to it only by the masterly pen of the great Proconsul. The following is its *précis*, as given in the memorandum:—

"The letter began by setting forth in detail a series of correspondence with the Resident, and numberless petitions from the Rájá's subjects, which had led the Madras Government to believe (that the following evils) prevailed in Travancore—the inefficiency of the police; the venality of the Courts; the demoralising effects of the revenue system pursued; the neglect of public works, and the general misrule. It went on by observing that it had been brought to the ears of Lord Dalhousie; and concluded by stating that in accordance with his Lordship's views, and Clause 9 of the Treaty of 1805, it had become the duty of the Government to call the Rajah's attention, in the most serious manner, to the manifold abuses prevailing in his dominions; to urge an enlightened policy, and to warn him that it was to be feared that the contingency against which Article 5 of the Treaty was directed was not far distant, unless averted by timely and judicious reforms; the Rajah was also informed that in carrying out any such reforms the assistance of the Resident was available."

The descent of this thunderbolt created immense stir for the moment in the Rájá's Court. The ancient vaults of the great Pagoda were ransacked, and five lakhs of rupees scraped out—avowedly to pay off arrears of public salaries, and the dues on pepper received from the ryots. But through the wonderful *legerdemain* of Krishna Ráo and his satellites, scarcely a moiety of this sum ever reached its destination.

A vague and perfunctory reply, drafted under General Cullen's

correction, was forwarded by the Rájá, in which many of the charges were admitted, qualified by flimsy excuses and explanations, and ready promises of reform given. In the meanwhile General Cullen sent up his own remarks on the petition of the missionaries, in which he took special care to defend his Krishna Ráo. He said—"much blame is unjustly thrown on the Dewan in regard to the state of the finances of the country. * * * The assertion that the Dewan is all-powerful over the Rajah is utterly false; the Rajah can do anything. In Cochin it is different, there the Dewan is paramount." We are fully justified in remarking that if Lord Dalhousie had continued a year more in India, if the great events of 1857 had not occurred and absorbed public attention, and if Krishna Ráo's administration had been prolonged, Travancore would long ago have been one of the richest Collectorates in Southern India. But it was otherwise ordained, and Travancore was spared to become a model of native good government. The Madras Government had, when recommending to the Government of India the institution of an enquiry by a Commission into the charges brought against the Travancore administration, simultaneously made the same recommendation to the home authorities. While the Governor-General rejected this proposal as opposed to the tenor of the Treaty, the Court of Directors strongly advised its adoption. They eschewed, however, General Cullen's proposal to appoint a local and "packed" Commission consisting of men likely to be under his thumb; and said:—"A much more comprehensive investigation than this is absolutely necessary, and though the officers to whom it is entrusted must hold their commission from the Rajah, they should be recommended to him by your Government, and should carry on their enquiries independently of the Resident. Lieutenant-General Cullen must be sensible that he is himself one of the parties under accusation; that he is alleged to be prejudiced in favour of the Dewan, who was introduced into Travancore by himself, and is indebted to him for his high appointment; and that no enquiry in which either the Dewan's instrumentality or his own is employed could be considered a fair one, or would effectually clear the official character of either from even unmerited imputation." This decision of the Court of Directors was communicated to the Governor-General; and in doing so, the Madras Government said:—"It may be proper to remark, in reference to the 9th Article of the Treaty, that practically, the intercourse between the Madras Government and the Travancore State has not been confined to the occasional tender of advice under that Article. The nomination by the Rajah of his Dewan or chief minister is reported for the sanction of Government. The Resident also exercises a general supervision over the proceedings of the Travancore Court.

* * * Annual reports of the revenue and expenditure are submitted to Government, and, especially of late years, these reports and their accounts have been closely scrutinized, and strong remarks made on the subject of expenditure, even to the extent of prescribing the maximum sum, which, however, has never been observed, to be spent in Ootperas and ceremonies." They also said that the proposed Commission "must exercise a minute and searching scrutiny into the entire system of the administration of the Travancore Government in all its branches—into the present condition of the country, and into the past proceedings of the Dewan and Resident." To this reference, and to several successive ones on the same subject, no reply was given by the Government of India; while the Madras Government continued "to receive from Travancore complaints of oppression and mal-administration." Lord Dalhousie had left India, and scarcely had Lord Canning time to study the political disposition of India, before the great mutiny broke out in 1857, and absorbed the attention of every Englishman. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the Travancore question was in abeyance. In the meanwhile, we must go back a little.

During the latter half of 1855, Mádhava Ráo was promoted to the office of Dewan Peshkar, which is the highest in the scale below that of the Dewan. The number of Peshkars at a time would appear to be varying between two and four; and these, at the time we speak of, were all stationed at the head-quarters. While they scarcely did any work of real importance and responsibility, they directed their talents and energies to intriguing against the Dewan, who in turn was ever jealously busy in annoying and impeding them. Mádhava Ráo was soon disgusted with this state of things; and suggested that the Peshkars might be entrusted with the responsible charge of a certain number of Táluks each, subject to the general control of the Dewan. He pointed also to a similar administrative arrangement which had obtained in Travancore previously to the establishment of its existing relations with the British Government. The arrangement was adopted, and Mádhava Ráo was deputed to 'the Southern Division,' comprising the very Táluks from which complaints to the Madras Government had been most frequent and importunate. Accordingly he went thither; and with power scrupulously limited by a jealous superior, began his work of reform steadily. Soon the industrious and peaceful found that there was one who was ready to espouse their cause against oppressors, and the lawless that *their* palmy days of impunity were gone. Mr. Norton observes:—"I cannot pass from the subject without another public mention of Mádhava Ráo, the most distinguished of all the High School *alumni*. His course has long been before the public. After leaving the school

with the highest distinctions and after honourable employ in the service of the Madras Government at the Presidency, he went to Travancore on the invitation of the Rajah, to superintend the education of the young princes. How he discharged that task I happen, so far as one of the princes is concerned, personally to know. And it is a proud satisfaction to think that he has instilled into the bosom of that young man the same love of the principles of justice and honesty as actuate himself. Thence, he was appointed to a post under the Dewan; and during this last year, he has had an independent charge of two districts of the kingdom. How he has administered that important charge I am about to state. I believe that the representations constantly before the public of the state of Travancore are not, in the least, exaggerated—that nothing could be worse than its condition of anarchy, than the entire dissolution of the elements of society. The missionaries have petitioned the Government on the state of misery and anarchy in which the country is plunged. A warning, by no means indistinct, as to the consequences of this state of things, has been conveyed by the Government of Madras to the Sovereign of Travancore. Yet, within the short space of a year, Mádhava Ráo has called forth order out of disorder; has distributed justice between man and man, without fear or favour; has expelled dacoits; has raised the revenues; and his Minutes and State papers show the liberality, the soundness, and statesmanship of his views and principles. He has received the thanks of his Sovereign; he has obtained the voluntary admiring testimony of some of the very missionaries who memorialised, to the excellence of his administration. Now, here is a man raised up, as it were, amid the anarchy and confusion of his country, to save it from destruction. Annexation, looming in the not far distant future, would be banished into the shades of night, if such an administration as he has introduced into two of the districts were given to the whole kingdom, by his advancement to the post of Minister. He is, indeed, a splendid example of what education may do for the Native.”*

It was not long before the hope so expressed was realised. Even General Cullen could not save his Krishna Ráo from the unrelenting laws of nature. In November, 1857, Dewan Krishna Ráo succumbed to a painful disease. It was during the costly sexennial Murajapam festival in Trevandrum that he died. It was necessary to appoint a person to take up the reins of office immediately. There were two Dewan Peshkars at the time; and of these Mádhava Ráo was the junior. The senior was a native of Malabar; and had, before entering the Travancore service,

* Speech at the 14th Anniversary, Patcheappa's Charities. Madras. 1857.

served our Government in that Collectorate for many years, and had earned some local distinction as an efficient Police officer. But he did not know English, and was thoroughly a man of the "old school." With the death of Krishna Ráo, General Cullen's good sense returned to him, and he at once recognised the pre-eminent fitness of Mádhava Ráo for the Ministership. So, we find him thus reporting to Government in January 1858.

"I have the honor to report that, immediately on the death of the late Dewan of Travancore, His Highness the Rajah proposed to me to send for the Dewan Peshkar, Mádhava Ráo, who was then in the southern districts and close at hand, for the purpose of taking temporary charge of the cutcherry.

* * * * *

"His Highness has since proposed to me that Mádhava Ráo should for the present be placed in charge of the administration as Acting Dewan, an arrangement in which I have expressed my concurrence and which I hope may be approved of by His Lordship in Council.

"Mádhava Ráo's correct principles, his character for intelligence and energy, his perfect knowledge of English, and the considerable experience he has already acquired in the administration of the laws of Travancore, together with the well-grounded knowledge of the Company's Regulations, all point him out for the office."

* * * * *

The Madras Government approved of this arrangement. At the end of the year the Rájá, with the concurrence of the Government, confirmed Mádhava Ráo in the Dewanship. That concurrence was thus expressed:—"The Government are glad to learn that His Highness the Rajah has shown his approval of the services of Mádhava Ráo by confirming him in the high and important office." It is but due to General Cullen to state that notwithstanding some reluctance on the part of the Rájá, he procured for him uncurtailed powers, and ever afterwards supported him cordially. Soon after Mádhava Ráo's appointment, Lord Harris visited Travancore; and during his Lordship's stay in Travandrum, Mádhava Ráo had long and interesting conferences with him, which while they fully instilled the new Dewan with the views of the Government regarding Travancore affairs, assured the head of that Government that the interests of that State were safe in the keeping of the new Minister. Earlier in the same year the Madras Government informed the Court of Directors that "since the appointment of Mádhava Ráo, petitions from Travancore have much abated both in number and tone, affording good grounds to hope that the administration is, by his exertions, being placed on an improved footing."

Thus Mádhava Ráo entered upon the discharge of his important duties with a zeal, earnestness, noble ambition, and honesty of purpose unrivalled among the natives of India. He was in his thirtieth year ; and certainly in the general run of cases that age might be considered too young for so high a trust. But his extraordinary natural talents, combined with an excellent education and intimacy with men in high circles, had enabled him early to study the great problems of social statics, to value all enlightened and progressive movements, and to form a sound and unprejudiced judgment in a manner more than amply to make up for the immaturity of years. His task was, however, by no means easy or even ordinarily difficult. We have already shown that the entire administration was disorganised. The public treasuries were empty ; and while large arrears of payment in the way of salaries, and money for pepper, tobacco, and other articles purchased by the Travancore Sirkar were accumulating, the land-tax used to be collected often a year in advance. Tobacco of the worst description was often the coin in which pepper was paid for ; and pepper, several years old, similarly fell to the lot of the tobacco contractor, if he happened not to be in the good graces of the leaders of the administration. Five lakhs of rupees had been borrowed from the Pagoda Treasury ; and the Rájá had made a solemn stipulation to replace this sum, *plus* 50 per cent. in the way of lump interest, in equal monthly instalments, in the course of five years. This, together with the subsidy payable to our Government, not to take into consideration other charges, was enough to deter any one from taking up the reins of the administration. The public service, from the top to the bottom, consisted, with few exceptions, of an army of voracious place-seekers, who having obtained their appointments by bribes, were bent upon recouping themselves a hundredfold ; and peculation, torture, false accusation, pretended demands on behalf of the Sirkar, these were the instruments with which they worked out their object. Non-payment of salaries furnished even an open pretext for these malpractices. The courts of justice were so many seats of corruption and perversion of justice. Dacoits and marauders of the worst stamp scoured the country by hundreds ; but these were less feared by the people than the so-called Police. In short, Travancore was the veriest den of misrule, lawlessness, and callous tyranny of the worst description. We advisedly say so, because the very heart of the administration was tainted. The State vessel was drifting at random amidst rocks and reefs, without a chart, without a compass, with shattered sails and broken cables, and above all, without a pilot. It was at the helm of this vessel that Mádhava Ráo was placed. He grasped it firmly ; full of confidence in the sympathy of the enlightened public, full of eagerness to earn

a noble distinction. How he guided the vessel, not only to safety but to glory, we shall presently see. In the meantime, certain events of importance must be noticed.

The disturbances in South Travancore, which arose from a disputed question of costumes, assumed suddenly a magnitude which none could have foreseen. The causes of these were quite beyond the control of the ruling authorities. They were but one of those illustrations of the struggles of the first rays of civilisation against utter barbarism. Popular rights are little known or respected in Native states; and Travancore has long been the *brinepond* of superstition and caste intolerance. Certain castes were restricted to certain modes of wearing their clothes; and deviations from the prescribed modes were jealously watched and opposed by other castes. The women of the Shánárs, or toddy-drawers, who abound in South Travancore, and from among whom the Protestant missionaries have for the last sixty years reaped the richest harvest, had been prevented from covering the upper part of their person. Acting upon the advice of Colonel Morrison, then Resident, the Ráni Regent had so far modified this restriction as to permit the wearing by *Christian* Shánár women of the *Kuppáyam* (a sort of shirt). The mutual jealousies between the Shánárs and the Súdras were dormant for some time, but the Queen's Proclamation of November 1858, on the assumption of the direct government of India, renovated those feelings. In the whole range of official literature, in the English or any other language, there is not a State Paper expressing nobler views or entitled to greater admiration than Her Majesty's Indian Proclamation; but at the same time we make bold to say that no State Paper has given rise to more divergent constructions. The Shánárs imagined that it permitted them to infringe existing rules; while the Súdras equally considered it as sanctioning their taking the law into their own hands to repress what they took as an aggression into their caste domains. Serious affrays ensued, and these were aggravated by the gratuitous interference of petty Sirkar officials whose general standard of capacity and moral worth we have already alluded to. Public peace was imperilled. In January 1859, General Cullen reported to the Madras Government that "there is a very disturbed state of feeling at present in the south of Travancore on a matter of caste, *i.e.*, as to the kind of dress to be worn by the women of the different castes." Further on he said—"In communication with the Dewan, I, a few days ago, sent to the south 100 men of the Nair Brigade under an European officer, to support the civil power, and which I hope may be sufficient, as the Dewan also proposes going there to ascertain on the spot the exact state of matters." Five days afterwards he again wrote and said:—

"A letter from the Dewan, dated yesterday, and received this morning, informs me of a report of the Shánárs across the frontier in the Tinnevely district collecting there with a view to enter Travancore to join the Shánárs, and plunder the villages along the frontier. A letter from the Valliyúr Thasildar (Tinnevely) rather corroborates the report; I have communicated the information to the Magistrate of Tinnevely.

"A party of 50 men of the Nair Brigade have been detached to Soosheendrum, and the Dewan is desirous to have an additional 100 men of the Brigade at his disposal, and I have accordingly directed the Officer Commanding the Brigade to hold them in readiness."

On the 12th February, Dewan Mádhava Ráo reported to the Resident thus:—

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5. "On the 14th ultimo, I reached Patmanabhapuram. A detachment of the Nair Brigade had already arrived there on the 11th. I was followed by Captain Daly, who was put in command of all the troops in the Southern Districts. The troops were moved where mischief was apprehended. The Police was further strengthened in different places; auxiliary police officers were appointed to keep the peace, and speedily inquire into and dispose of Police cases, which were of course expected to be numerous at the time. Some minor Sirkar officials, who appear to have acted improperly, were suspended from employment. Some of the leaders of both parties concerned in these disturbances were apprehended; other measures, too, were taken with a view to preserve order. The determination of the Sirkar to exact implicit obedience to it from all classes of its subjects soon became known; and I am happy to add, that without the necessity of resorting to extreme measures having arisen, tranquillity has been restored." He said further:—

"As regards future arrangements, I think it desirable that the detachment of the Nair Brigade, now in the south, should continue there some little time longer. The additional Police establishments should also be continued. A re-arrangement of officials in certain localities will be necessary; about which, however, I may write to you at another time. I may also submit in a very few days my plans for better organising the Police of the whole country.

8. "The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the Proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances."

The agitation subsided gradually under a firm but considerate policy. The Rájá conceded, not without pressure from the

Madras Government, of which Sir C. Trevelyan had become the head, liberty of dress to the Shánárs. Sir Walter Elliot, then Member of Council, considered the Dewan's report "to be a temperate and fair statement." The Dewan, however, had to carry out the wishes of the Government under the orders of a Rájá, who while possessing many amiable and even sterling qualities, and often successfully simulating enlightenment, was an ultra-conservative; and of a Resident, who could not realise the moral advancement of the world of near half a century, and who seldom took a serious view of popular grievances. Hence the concessions made to the Shánárs were piece-meal; and naturally petitions complaining of caste intolerance continued to be sent up to the Government. Any Governor would have taken serious notice of these; but Sir C. Trevelyan was one whose spirit soon burst all bonds of patience. It was also about this time that the Government of India replied to the several references from the Madras Government, recommending an enquiry by commission into the affairs of Travancore, which had not received attention during the mutiny. They objected to a Commission, but advised the suspension of the Resident, and the appointment of an officiating Resident. The Madras Government, while conscious of their power to take this step, did not see sufficient grounds to do so, and said that one of the main objects of the proposed Commission was to ascertain the necessity for so doing. Thus there was an ellipsis of argument, the Government of India deeming the suspension of the Resident a necessary preliminary to all enquiry, and the Madras Government considering that an enquiry alone could show whether suspension was necessary. Sir C. Trevelyan was convinced of the unfitness of General Cullen; and the Indian Government had pointed to the necessity of appointing in his stead "a person of tried and known sound judgment, and one who may be expected to obtain the confidence of all parties." To effect this, Sir Charles thought it best to use moral persuasion. So, we find him writing to the Resident on the 6th May, thus:—

"It is my earnest desire to support the just authority of the Mahárájá in his ancient dominions, and I know what is due to yourself as an old and deserving officer of this Government; but the case now before me is one in which the claims of public duty are of the most imperative kind, and I must therefore desire that you will, without further delay, yield obedience to the repeated orders which have been conveyed to you, and report in detail what you have done in consequence of the resolutions of this Government communicated to you on the 27th January and on the 14th of March last, and what the Mahárájá has done in consequence." General Cullen soon found from this, and perhaps also other correspondence of a more privileged kind, that the anti-

quarian inclinations of the new Governor were not strong enough to support an 'Old Indian' against public interests.

He accordingly did "yield obedience," and retired at the end of 1859. The new year brought with it a new Resident. The Madras Presidency affords little or no field for the development of diplomatic talents; and its services, both civil and military, have seldom been adorned by men of distinction in this line. But this general void only made Mr. Francis Maltby shine all the more. He was every way fit to represent the British Government in a Native Court. His great official experience, his eminent talents, his excellent literary powers, his warm and generous heart, his humane sympathies, his keen sense of honour, his love of truth and justice, his abhorrence of all that was mean and morally sinuous, and his polished and persuasive manners, formed a happy combination rarely seen. A deep and self-humiliating, but unobtrusive, religious faith ran through every vein of his moral frame. His commanding person, his noble mien, his rare but mild and sincere smile, his well-weighed and slow-flowing speech, and even his deep bass voice, were externals which immensely added to the dignity and effect of the whole character. It was on him that Sir Charles Trevelyan's choice worthily fell. Early in 1860, he went to Travancore and relieved General Cullen. About six months after Mr. Maltby's appointment, the late Mahārājā died. The Rājā had left four nephews; and according to the Malabar law of succession, the eldest of these would have succeeded him in the sovereignty. But he was found to be completely demented from an early age. Two modes of settling the succession presented themselves to the notice of the Madras Government. These were: first, a complete supersession of the *de jure* heir and the installation of the next in seniority in full sovereignty; or, secondly, the establishment of a Regency and the placing of the heir presumptive at its head. The decision of the Government, in a very great measure, depended upon the opinion of the Resident. Mr. Maltby carefully weighed the respective merits of the two proposals. He had before him a not very remote precedent of a Regency in Travancore itself. He, however, perceived the evils which would arise from an indefinite Regency and the consequent unsettled state of the public mind. He also calculated upon the great benefits which would accrue from the increased amenability to the advice of the British Government on the part of a native potentate who might be expected to ascribe his attainment of sovereignty, partly at least, to that Government. He, therefore, strongly recommended the installation of Prince Rama Vurmah; and the Madras Government, with the concurrence of the Government of India, sanctioned it. Accordingly, on the 19th October, 1860, the present Mahārājā was installed. And under a young and amiable sovereign, free

from the bonds of self-imposed conservatism, and with a Resident of high character and abilities, Sir Mádhava Ráo's administration attained unimpeded progress.

In noticing the features of an administration, the point which pre-eminently presents itself to our attention is its financial policy. It has already been shown how the finances stood in the days of Mádhava Ráo's predecessor. With all the oppressive and demoralising monopolies and other petty vexatious taxes, the total revenue seldom went up to even 40 lakhs. We subjoin a statement of the yearly receipts for nine years beginning from 1861-62 :—

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|----------------|
| 1861-62 | ... | ... | Rs. 4,323,687. |
| 1862-63 | ... | ... | „ 4,754,898. |
| 1863-64 | ... | ... | „ 4,310,727. |
| 1864-65 | ... | ... | „ 4,211,140. |
| 1865-66 | ... | ... | „ 4,480,634. |
| 1866-67 | ... | ... | „ 4,482,819. |
| 1867-68 | ... | ... | „ 5,188,944. |
| 1868-69 | ... | ... | „ 5,085,645. |
| 1869-70 | ... | ... | „ 5,154,007. |

We regret that we have not before us the statement of revenue receipts from the very beginning of Mádhava Ráo's Dewanship ; but it must be remembered that before Mr. Maltby's advent these Administration Reports never saw light. If we could have presented it, the contrast would have been greater. But the figures above given will show, without any comments from us, the buoyancy which the master hand of the new-Dewan gave the revenues of Travancore. But the debit side must be considered. The very first act of the new reign was the abolition, under Mr. Maltby's advice and Mádhava Ráo's assurance, of the pepper monopoly. Pepper is a staple peculiar to the Malabar Coast, of which Travancore forms a part. It had for a very long time been one of the chief revenues of the State. "The pepper of the Malabar Coast had, from the earliest times of the Company's trade, formed one of the chief articles of export. On the 28th January 1793, the Rájá entered into an agreement (No. LII.) known as the pepper contract, to supply a large quantity of pepper to the Bombay Government for ten years, in return for arms and goods."* Pepper had been so important an item in the revenue system that the branch of that system which embraced all the State monopolies and royalties went under the designation of the 'Pepper Department.' The amount annually realised by this monopoly, while it formed a very appreciable portion of the State revenue, was not very large, taken in itself. Dewan Krishna Ráo, in his memorandum†

* Aitchison's Collection of 'Treaties,' &c., vol. v., page 293.

† "Selections from the Records of Travancore." No. III.

drawn up in 1841-42, when first introduced into the Travancore service, gives interesting information on the pepper monopoly as well as other points. From the tables given in it we gather that, taking an average of ten years, 4,531 kandies of pepper were annually purchased from the ryots for Rs. 1,49,587, and 5,655 kandies were sold for Rs. 3,27,177. The average sale value is Rs. 60 per kandy, and thus the 4,531 kandies give Rs. 2,77,460, from which deducting the cost, we get Rs. 1,27,873 as net revenue, which is comparatively a small sum. But monopolies are always thought elastic, and great hopes are placed in them in a mere financial point of view. The great oppression which the pepper monopoly gave rise to, and the decidedly incommensurate revenue derived from it, pointed to it as the first of the monopolies to be abolished or modified. Mr. Maltby was determined to expunge it. He would not have been able to do so, if Mádhava Ráo were not bold enough to bear the loss of revenue. But the latter was enlightened enough to realise to himself the spirit of the age, and was confident in his own abilities. Thus, the pepper monopoly was sent whistling in the air with one stroke of the bat of the master cricketer. An export duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* was imposed in its stead. This was again lowered first to 9 per cent., and ultimately to 5 per cent., the general level of export duty.

Next in order we come to the tobacco monopoly. This source of revenue was incomparably greater than that of pepper. It, indeed, took in Travancore the place of the opium monopoly in British India. The abolition of this monopoly, of course, entailed a proportionately large fiscal sacrifice. We cannot do better than quote from Mádhava Ráo's Report for 1863-64.

"The important fact may be announced at the outset, that the tobacco monopoly of the State was finally abolished in the year under review.

"It may not be out of place here to give a summary of the measures taken by His Highness' Government in recent years in respect to this important source of revenue, culminating in the abolition of the monopoly.

"It may be premised that in regard to the consumption of tobacco, Travancore may be regarded as divided into three circles, namely, the southern, the central, and the northern. In the first of these Tinnevely tobacco is chiefly consumed, in the second that of Jaffna, and in the third that of Coimbatore.

"The monopoly system was open to objection for the double reason that the mode of deriving the revenue was in itself opposed to sound fiscal principles, and that the taxation of the commodity was carried too far in reference to the power of the Sirkar to counteract the operations of the smuggler.

"The evils of the system, under these circumstances, could at no time have escaped observation; but when the tobacco monopoly in the British districts of Malabar, Canara, and Coimbatore was abolished in 1853, the difficulty of maintaining the monopoly in this State much increased.

"The consequence was a rapid decline of the revenue on Jaffna tobacco. In the year 1032 (Kollam era), the year previous to the appointment of the present Dewan, the consumption of Sirkar tobacco of Ceylon growth was 1,444 kandies, while in 1024 it had stood at 2,485 kandies.

"But no reforms in the system, however desirable, could be attempted at a time when the public finances were suffering from *extreme* depression. All that could be done was to work the existing system itself with more than usual vigour and strictness, to check abuses, and to exact the largest revenue towards the rescue of the State from its perilous financial position.

"Under such a treatment, the revenues rose again, as the following statement will show:—

| Malayalam year. | | Kandies. |
|-----------------|-----|---------------------|
| 1032 | ... | 3,460 |
| 1033 | ... | 3,818 |
| 1034 | ... | 4,405 |
| 1035 | ... | 4,765 |
| 1036 | ... | 3,941 (Famine year) |
| 1037 | ... | 4,376 (Ditto) |

"The time then arrived for inaugurating reforms earnestly. The finances of the Sirkar were much improved, and action was no longer delayed.

"The first step was to lower the monopoly prices. They had stood thus:—

| | Rate per kandy. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Jaffna tobacco ... | Rs. 431 |
| Tinnevelly do. ... | " 266 |
| Coimbatore do. ... | " 168 |
| and were reduced as shown below:— | |
| Jaffna tobacco ... | Rs. 252½ |
| Tinnevelly do. ... | " 168½ |
| Coimbatore do. ... | " 105 |

"This, it will be seen, was a considerable fall, and could not but operate to cut off largely from the profits of smuggling, and to bring tobacco more within the reach of the consumers.

"But, be it noted that this reform was limited to reduction of taxation, but did not extend to the *system*, which was still that of a monopoly. Hence an opportunity was taken not long after to attack the system itself. Instead of the Sirkar purchasing tobacco from contractors on its own account and selling it by

retail to its subjects, it was declared open to all dealers to import tobacco on their own account, provided they paid the following import duty:—

| | Per kandy. |
|--------------------|------------|
| Jaffna tobacco ... | Rs. 190 |
| Tinnevelly do. ... | „ 140 |
| Coimbatore do. ... | „ 65 |

“In consideration of the pressure of the duty, importers are allowed by the Sirkar the privilege of keeping their goods in bond, a privilege without which the trade could never have prospered. But it was yet desirable to lower the duty, which the Sirkar was glad to do in reference to the handsome surplus revenues left in its hands at the end of 1038. So in about the middle of 1039 (the year under review) the Sirkar reduced the duties to the undermentioned scale:—

| | Per kandy. |
|--------------------|------------|
| Jaffna tobacco ... | Rs. 140 |
| Tinnevelly do. ... | „ 100 |
| Coimbatore do. ... | „ 65 |

“A still further reduction has been made in the current year.” * * *

That reduction was as follows:—

| | Per kandy. |
|--------------------|------------|
| Jaffna tobacco ... | Rs. 120 |
| Tinnevelly do. ... | „ 85 |
| Coimbatore do. ... | „ 40 |

And we find that while in 1856-57, the last year of Krishna Rao's administration, 3,460 kandies were, under the full swing of the monopoly sold, and brought in a net revenue of Rs. 8,48,978; in 1869-69, the import duty on 8,150 kandies brought in a revenue of Rs. 8,36,684. Thus, while a world of the most heinous crimes was made no longer possible, while their still worse demoralising influence was removed, while trade was largely unfettered, and while the innocent enjoyment of a luxury by the million was favoured, the loss to the Sirkar was brought down to the paltry sum of Rs. 12,294. If this is not a great financial success, what is? In 1864-65, we find that—

“Upwards of 100 minor taxes” were abolished “at an annual sacrifice of about Rs. 8,500.”

“The land-tax in Nánjinád having been found to range excessively high, a maximum of 10 *kottahs* of paddy per *kottah* of seed land was fixed, and to this standard all excessive taxation was reduced, involving a loss of revenue to the extent of about Rs. 15,000.”

Another very important financial measure carrying with it great fiscal relief remains to be noticed. “In the middle of

A Native Statesman.

1863-64, the export and import duties were reduced all round."

"Then again, in the year 1864-65, the Commercial Treaty between the British Government and the Sirkars of Travancore and Cochin having been concluded, duties were very largely removed.

"The relief resulting to trade with Travancore from this treaty may be thus particularised:—

"1st.—Travancore duties on goods imported from or through British Indian or Cochin Sirkar territories have been, with a few exceptions, removed. This relief alone may be estimated at Rs. 1,20,000.

"2nd.—The British Indian duties on the above goods, so far as they used to be levied, have also been taken off.

"3rd.—The Cochin Sirkar duties on the same have also been taken off.

"4th.—The duties which the British Indian Government used to levy on the goods imported into British India from Travancore have likewise been resigned.

"5th.—The duties of the same kind which the Cochin Sirkar used to levy on the Travancore goods imported into its territory, or in transit through it to British India, have been similarly surrendered.

"Trade has thus been freed from taxes, doubtless amounting to some lakhs of rupees."

In consequence of this interportal arrangement, there ensued a very considerable fall in the Customs revenue. While in the year 1862-63 this item showed a revenue of Rs. 5,30,443, in 1869-70 it stood so low as Rs. 3,63,822. It should be mentioned that, by the interportal agreement, the British Government has engaged to pay a fixed sum annually in the way of compensation to the Travancore and Cochin Sirkars. The British Indian tariff of valuations was also universally adopted. With what elasticity trade has risen under the above arrangements will be seen by noticing that in 1861-62 the exports were to the value of Rs. 3,544,653, while in 1868-69 they went up to Rs. 7,276,200, showing an increase of more than cent. per cent.

Under the interportal agreement an evil was certainly inflicted on the people of Travancore, *viz.*, the enhancement of the price of salt. No financial argument, founded though it may be on statistics, can morally justify this heavy tax on a strict necessary of life; and it is not chimerical to hope that a future Cobden or Wilberforce will bestir the humane sympathies of the British Government to remove this burden from the poverty-stricken masses of India. Travancore *was* comparatively taxed lightly in this respect; but owing to British interference, the people of that State have been laid under this the worst of all indirect taxes.

We cannot hold Mádhava Ráo responsible for this, but we yet think that it was in his power to protest against it strongly.

It has already been noticed elsewhere that when the State had been brought to the very brink of bankruptcy during the late reign, and when Lord Dalhousie caused a significant warning to be sent to the late Rájá under the Treaty of 1805, a sum of five lakhs of rupees had been borrowed from the Pagoda to meet the exigencies of the time. In 1862-63, "a sum of Rs. 1,57,000 was paid, completing the discharge of the liability. The sum originally borrowed was Rs. 5,00,000. The interest due on the principal amounted to half as much. The whole sum of Rs. 7,50,000 has been paid off." And Mádhava adds, with excusable pride, that "Travancore has no public debt now."

The whole administrative agency had, when Mádhava Ráo came to power, sunk into a state of utter decrepitude. One main cause of this was the extremely low level of public salaries. Neither the morality nor the efficiency of the service could be improved without raising those salaries to a respectable standard. Also a numerical increase of public servants was but an inevitable necessity of a rapidly progressive administration. Hence, the expenditure of the State in this direction rose, year after year largely. The following statement will show the extent of that increase:—

| Year. | Civil salaries. |
|---------|-----------------|
| 1861-62 | Rs. 5,90,935 |
| 1862-63 | „ 590,578 |
| 1863-64 | „ 6,51,055 |
| 1864-65 | „ 6,19,177 |
| 1865-66 | „ 6,88,549 |
| 1866-67 | „ 6,90,945 |
| 1867-68 | „ 7,84,390 |
| 1868-69 | „ 8,02,762 |
| 1869-70 | „ 8,50,430 |

In this, the Police establishment alone stood in 1861-62 at Rs. 61,264, and in 1869-70 at Rs. 1,33,242; and the Judicial branch of the service cost in 1861-62 Rs. 85,206, and in 1869-70 Rs. 1,54,969. So in the Police the increase during these nine years was more than cent. per cent.; and in the Judicial establishment not much below that ratio.

The above statement, however, does not represent the aggregate of *all* civil salaries. In the report for 1868-69, a comparative statement of civil salaries between the year 1856-57 and 1868-69 is given, which shows that in the former year they amounted to Rs. 7,73,222, and in the latter to Rs. 11,68,699, presenting an increase of Rs. 3,95,477, or slightly more than 50 per cent.

Excepting a good but select English school, and a good masonry bridge at Trevandrum, both education and public works were non-

existent before Mádhava Ráo's ministry in Travancore. Captain Horsley, while in charge of the British District, was occasionally referred to for professional advice ; but it was in 1860, that a separate Civil Engineer was employed and a department organised to execute works of public utility. The State expenditure under these two heads, for the nine years from 1861-62, stood thus :—

| | <i>Public Works.</i> | <i>Education, Science and Art.</i> |
|---------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1861-62 | ... Rs. 2,70,549 | ... |
| 1862-63 | ... „ 2,17,380 | ... |
| 1863-64 | ... „ 2,60,169 | ... |
| 1864-65 | ... „ 4,76,305 | Rs. 57,039 |
| 1865-66 | ... „ 5,61,448 | „ 56,036 |
| 1866-67 | ... „ 5,54,750 | „ 69,127 |
| 1867-68 | ... „ 5,65,021 | „ 81,399 |
| 1868-69 | ... „ 6,05,661 | „ 87,331 |
| 1869-70 | ... „ 9,69,801 | „ 1,14,545 |

For the first three years we miss the disbursements under Education, &c. ; but we suppose the item was so small that it merged into some other one. But the figures given show that the expenditure has doubled during six years under this head, and trebled under that of Public Works, in nine years.

Travancore is perhaps the most priest-ridden Native State in the whole of India ; for although in other States large sums are frequently squandered on the Bráhmans and other religious and mendicant classes, those expenses depend on the will, or rather caprice, of the rulers of those States. But in Travancore the ruler himself is not his own master in religious matters. Certain heavy expenses have *inevitably* to be incurred in the performance of appointed ceremonies, besides the current one of feeding *gratis* all Bráhmans *all the year round*. These, together with others of a more domestic nature, have been both numerous and costly during Mádhava Ráo's 14 years' administration. When it is considered that the Rájá himself is not able to do away with these, it is evident enough that Mádhava Ráo could do little beyond preventing unauthorised appropriation of the money spent on them. But the drain on the public treasury is not the less deserving of consideration. The following figures are taken from the Administration Reports for the nine years, showing the usual and extra religious and ceremonial expenses.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------|
| 1861-62, Utpurahs or feeding-houses | ... | Rs. 3,08,476 |
| „ Marriage of the Junior Rání | ... | „ 30,076 |
| 1862-63, Utpurahs | ... | „ 3,16,939 |
| 1863-64, Ditto | ... | „ 2,95,192 |
| Carried over | ... | Rs. 9,50,683 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|--|-----|-----|---------------|
| | Brought forward | ... | Rs. | 9,50,683 |
| 1863-64, | The Murajapam Ceremony | ... | " | 1,63,611 |
| " | The <i>Pulikudi</i> of the Junior Rání | ... | " | 2,659 |
| 1864-65, | Utpurahs | ... | " | 3,06,869 |
| 1865-66, | Ditto, | ... | " | 2,84,550 |
| 1866-67, | Ditto, | ... | " | 3,02,337 |
| 1867-68, | Ditto, | ... | " | 2,87,517 |
| 1868-69, | Ditto, | ... | " | 3,13,117 |
| 1869-70, | Ditto, | ... | " | 3,21,572 |
| " | The Murajapam Ceremony | ... | " | 1,94,752 |
| " | The Tulápurushadánam (or weighing with gold) Ceremony | ... | " | 1,61,177 |
| " | The Sacerdotal Thread Investiture of the young prince | ... | " | 20,690 |
| And we may add— | | | | |
| | The Hiranyagarbham (or golden Lotus) Ceremony in 1870-71, about | ... | " | 1,60,000 |
| | Ditto ditto Utpurahs, about | ... | " | 3,00,000 |
| Total | | | | Rs. 37,69,534 |

This shows an average annual expenditure exceeding $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs of rupees. We have omitted the Pagoda expenses. The Pagoda lands and endowments were taken into the hands of the Sirkar in the time of Colonel Munro's Residency; and thereafter the revenues of those lands were incorporated with those of the Sirkar, and the expenses met from the public treasuries directly. It may yet be observed that the annual expenditure under this head is $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees in round numbers.

Now, we have seen that Mádhava Ráo's administration started with an empty treasury encumbered with a heavy debt. The great monopolies were abolished, numerous minor taxes removed, and the Customs duties materially reduced; all this involving a sacrifice of several lakhs of public revenue. Not a single pie was *added* to the taxation, excepting in the case of salt, the responsibility of which rests entirely with the British authorities. Public salaries have been immensely increased to secure honesty and efficiency. Many lakhs of rupees have been spent upon Public Works, Education, and Medical dispensation. Costly ceremonies have been performed, and religious and charitable institutions have been maintained. And yet with all this Mádhava Ráo has come out, year after year, with a handsome surplus. Year after year, the Madras Government has justly belauded his financial success. In 1866, the Secretary of State remarked thus:—

"The financial results of the administration of Travancore for 1864-65 are, on the whole, satisfactory, and the surplus of

Rs. 1,90,770, by which the revenue exceeds the expenditure, appears to have been secured, notwithstanding heavy reduction of taxation, under the enlightened and able administration of the Revenue Department by the Dewan Mádhava Ráo. This surplus is all the more gratifying that improvements, carried out in some cases at considerable expense, have been introduced into other departments of the administration, and that public works have by no means been neglected."

Large cash balances resulted from this able administration, and in 1865-66, Mádhava Ráo wrote:—"This healthy state of the finances is, obviously, in itself, the greatest possible security to the Paramount Power for the punctual payment of the stipulated subsidy; which has, hitherto, been paid with unerring certainty on the appointed date, though it is the largest subsidy paid to the British Indian Government with but one or two exceptions. But the State has deemed it prudent to hold thirteen lakhs of rupees in the British Indian Loan, and thus to make that security still stronger. It is therefore plain that every care has been taken to fortify this State against any unpleasant contingency arising from possible difficulty of a temporary character in the fulfilment of its obligations to the British Government." There cannot be a more practically triumphant response to Lord Dalhousie's "warning" of 1855, that "the contingency against which Article V. of the Treaty is directed is not far distant." And in Mr. Norton's words, Mádhava Ráo assuredly "banished annexation into the shades of night." Mádhava Ráo's financial administration is simply admirable. In his more limited sphere in Travancore he has accomplished, with no rigorous measures, all that the great Indian financiers have done for British India only with the aid of the income-tax and other highly unpopular impositions.

We can only hastily glance over the other but no less important reforms accomplished during Mádhava Ráo's ministry. The administration of justice had been simply shameful, and the Police an engine of oppression and of extortion. In the year 1861-62, the Civil Procedure Code of British India (Act No. VIII. of 1859) was, with a few alterations, adopted in Travancore. The "Penal Code" and the "Criminal Procedure Code" soon followed. The salaries of the judges were largely increased. In 1864, one of the best native judicial officers in the Madras Presidency, and a school-fellow of Mádhava Ráo, Mr. M. Sadasiva Pillai, then Principal Sadar Amín of Madura, was appointed as Chief Justice of the Sadar Court of Travancore. In moral rectitude, in judicial experience, in mature and dispassionate judgment, in the correct comprehension of the aim of legislation, and in powers of application, he has not his superior among the natives of India.

Travancore owes to him no small debt of gratitude for the great reforms which he, with the co-operation of Mádhava Ráo, has effected in the administration of justice. For the Zilla Courts, too, judges, duly qualified by regular legal studies, were in time appointed. The duration of suits in the Courts was brought down to the lowest standard consistent with soundness of justice. Qualified vakils were admitted to plead ; while formerly there was no recognised bar, and the haphazard vakils were, in the generality of cases, no better than so many pickpockets. The law of limitation was introduced from British India, in a slightly modified form. In 1869-70, the average delay in the disposal of criminal cases was but seven days in the Courts of Travancore. The Registration Act of British India was also introduced in 1866-67 ; and its benefits in a country, where petty holdings of land abound, where forgery is almost a normal concomitant of transactions in these, have been incalculable. The department is worked with efficiency and success. The number of moonsiffs was almost doubled, each of the 32 taluks now having one. The jurisdiction of these, as well as of the zillah judges, was much enlarged, and they were invested with powers to decide small causes finally. On the whole, the judicial administration has evinced marked improvement. It is, no doubt, yet susceptible of still further advancement ; but it should be remembered that the Dewan has little or no direct authority in that branch of the administration, and the powers of general control of the Chief Justice are anything but plenary.

The Police has, from the beginning of his administration, received the best attention of Mádhava Ráo. In 1861-62, he announced that it was in contemplation "to organise a Police Force somewhat on the plan which has been pursued in the Madras Presidency." The wants of the Police Department were : "1st, increased pay ; 2ndly, increased strength ; and 3rdly, more method and discipline." These were attended to in due course. We have already seen that the increase of salaries in this department was more than cent. per cent. The salaries of the Tahsildárs, which had been shamefully low, were raised to a respectable standard. But no increase of pay could ensure that attention on the part of the Tahsildárs to Police duties which was necessary ; simply because with the innumerable calls on their time on account of revenue, religious, Civil, Commissariat, and a thousand and one other duties, it was physically impossible. To meet this want Police Amins were appointed in such places, which, for want of a better phrase, may be called the *criminal head-quarters*. The chief towns in the country were placed under the care of special Police Superintendents. The more heinous crimes have vastly decreased ; so much so that in 1869-70, out of 19,736 cases disposed of, during the year only 310 cases had to be com-

mitted to the Criminal Courts. Petty offences, as petty litigation, must generally be on the increase as society becomes more and more complex. Mádhava Ráo says:—

“Among minor complaints, those relating to landed property are numerous, as they must be in a country where agriculture is the chief occupation. It is not so much that violent trespass is often committed. But a dispute about right of possession or property occurs, and the Police officer is appealed to forthwith; both parties often taking care to arrange a few harmless preliminaries just to give the case the appearance of a proceeding cognizable by the Police authorities.” This is done because the summary decision of the Magistracy is far less costly and tedious than a regular civil suit. There are now (1869-70) 70 officers and 1,597 constables, besides village watchmen. The most notorious offenders have been apprehended, and organised crime no longer exists. Life and property are secure; and the strong arm of protection of the Sirkar is confided in by the people generally.

The land revenue for the nine years from 1861-62 stands thus:—

| | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| 1861-62 | ... | ... | ... | Rs. 14,63,793 |
| 1862-63 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,34,142 |
| 1863-64 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,51,208 |
| 1864-65 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,45,470 |
| 1865-66 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,40,455 |
| 1866-67 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,77,654 |
| 1867-68 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,69,316 |
| 1868-69 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,88,580 |
| 1869-70 | ... | ... | ... | „ 16,66,950 |

This source of revenue is perhaps the least elastic for obvious reasons. But the revenue must rise as the [consequence of a new general survey and settlement, which is one of the measures which Mádhava Ráo has, for want of leisure and proper professional agency, not been able to accomplish. The land-tax is very moderate in Travancore, in most cases below one-fourth of the net produce. Unlike our Government, the Sirkar does not claim to be the lord of *all* lands. More than half of the cultivated lands belong to private lords and to pagodas. The Sirkar lands are called Sirkar *Pathám* lands. These paid *rents*, and were, in former days, subject to frequent and arbitrary enhancement of rents. Nothing was easier for one ryot than to dispossess another of his land of this sort by offering to pay a higher rent. This great want of security of possession operated to the marked deterioration of the lands, and to the consequent fall in their saleable value. In 1864-65, a notification was issued by the Maharájá to the effect—

"That the Sirkar hereby and for ever surrenders for the benefit of the people, all power over the following classes of lands *
 * the tax of which is understood to be fixed till the next survey and assessment.

"That the ryots holding these lands may regard them fully as private, heritable, saleable, and otherwise transferable property.

* * * * *

"That the holders of the lands in question may rest assured that they may enjoy them undisturbed, so long as the appointed assessment is paid.

"That the said holders are henceforth at liberty to lay out labor and capital on their lands of the aforesaid description to any extent they please, being sure of continued and secure possession."

* * * * *

And in Mádhava Ráo's words : "The ryot in possession of Pat-hám lands may hereafter feel that, in effect, *he* is the landlord. He can regard the lands as his own property ; and the wholesome feeling of ownership thus generated, is obviously of inestimable value." Hand in hand with this wise measure, improved rules for the sale of waste lands were introduced ; and year after year, the industrious ryots have been reclaiming waste lands. But perhaps the most noteworthy item is the extension of coffee cultivation. Before Mádhava Ráo's ministry, there was not a single coffee planter in Travancore working in earnest. In 1868-69, "the number of estates owned by Europeans was 50, containing in the aggregate about 14,700 acres. This of course, is apart from the estates and gardens owned by natives both on the hills and in the plains." In the next year "there were about 16,000 acres devoted to coffee cultivation." "Almost all land available for coffee between the extreme south of the mountain range and Agastiar Peak has already been taken up. But between this Peak and the extreme north, there is abundance of land available." In 1869-70, 16,991 cwts. of coffee valued at Rs. 3,38,800 were exported, and paid a duty of Rs. 16,942. Along with coffee the rival staple of tea has begun to flourish in the Travancore mountains ; and the samples sent home lately were pronounced very good by connoisseurs. At Peermade the Sirkar has a cinchona garden. It has received professional visits from Mr. Clement Markham, Mr. McIvor, and Dr. Cleghorn. We subjoin the following interesting statement :—

| No. | BOTANICAL NAMES. | COMMERCIAL NAMES. | NUMBER OF PLANTS. | HEIGHT OF THE TALLEST. | GIRTH NEAR THE GROUND OF THE THICKEST. | GIRTH 5 FEET ABOVE GROUND OF THE THICKEST. |
|-----|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--|--|
| | | | | ft. in. | Inches. | |
| 1 | C. Succirubra ... | Red bark ... | 2,952 | 19 10 | 22 | 13 |
| 2 | C. Micratha ... | Grey bark ... | 341 | 18 0 | 12½ | 7½ |
| 3 | C. Peruviana ... | Finest grey bark ... | 109 | 15 4 | 12 | 7 |
| 4 | C. Nitidæ ... | Genuine grey bark ... | 66 | 7 10 | 7½ | 4½ |
| 5 | C. Condamenia ... | Rusty crown bark ... | 74 | 12 1 | 9 | 5 |
| 6 | Cinchona ? ... | Name unknown ... | 10 | 9 4 | 6½ | 5 |

The cocoanut palm is pre-eminently the characteristic feature of the coast vegetation of Travancore. Almost every part of it is of use. There are millions and millions of these trees in Travancore. In the year 1868-69 the exports of the produce of it brought in Rs. 1,74,097 to the Sirkar's exchequer.

Thus, while great impetus has been afforded to extended cultivation of lands, taxation has been kept under very moderate bounds, and security of possession and freedom of transfer have been fully guaranteed.

We must now turn to public works. No public measures carry with them that popular sympathy and appreciation among oriental nations which great works of public utility do. The ancient glory of India yet lives in the fragmentary remnants of its public works, particularly those appertaining to agriculture. Travancore, in its olden days, had its full share of such works. There are no less than three large granite *anicuts* in South Travancore, all more or less damaged by process of time, owing chiefly to the almost entire absence of regard to mechanical principles in their construction. They, nevertheless, bear ample testimony to the genuine public spirit and the noble ambition of the rulers of those days. There is a tiny irrigation channel connected with one of these dams, of which almost a mile passes through heavy granite cutting. An interesting anecdote is related of this cutting. The Rájá of the time (he died in 1758) was personally superintending the work. He was anxious to have it soon accomplished; and one day, he sent up every available man, including his personal attendants, to work at it. Only one man remained with him to hold his umbrella. Even this man was relieved at last, the umbrella being fixed in a hole which the Rájá caused to be bored in the rock on which he sat. The hole is pointed to with love and veneration even to this day, as an interesting relic.

There is a very useful chain of natural lagoons affording internal water-communication in Travancore. These were in two or three places isolated near Trevandrum; and Dewan Venkata Ráo, Mádhava Ráo's uncle, had, during the regency, connected them with some 20 or 25 miles of canal. Since his time no public works of any magnitude could be said to have been accomplished, excepting the single masonry bridge, to which we have already alluded. It was in 1860 that a regular Department of Public Works was formed. Unfortunately, frequent changes in the head of that department have marred its vigour and unity of purpose. Nevertheless, large sums of money have been spent as already seen, and very satisfactory results achieved. One of the earliest of these is the splendid lighthouse at Aleppy, off which port the sea is generally smooth. Its erection and fitting up with "an illuminating apparatus of the most improved construction" do great credit to Captain Crawford, the efficient and veteran Commercial Agent of the Sirkar. The only road which Travancore had was the trunk line from the capital to the southern extremity, a distance of a little more than 50 miles. This was in so utterly bad a state that carts could not pass during the monsoon and several months after it. This was thoroughly repaired in 1861-62 at an outlay of Rs. 30,000, and has annually been carefully attended to. A network of branch roads, extending in all to between 100 and 150 miles, has been opened in South Travancore of late. A splendid road with very easy gradients has recently been made connecting Quilon with the District of Tinnevely across the Gháts, and traffic has already begun to flow by it in a most marked manner. Two other ghát roads, one running to the Agastiar range directly from Trevandrum, and the other from Aleppy to the Peermade range, have been opened; also a road from Trevandrum northwards crossing and connecting these ghát roads. These trunk roads measure several hundreds of miles, and are constantly kept under repair. Besides these and a tissue of roads in the town of Trevandrum, many lines of unpretending but useful village roads have been made under the direction of the revenue authorities. A costly navigation canal has been excavated in South Travancore, but it remains an isolated work and is only locally useful. By far the most gigantic work yet undertaken is the connecting canal across the "Varkalai barrier." To quote Mr. Barton, the Chief Engineer.—"This scheme was projected 40 years ago, and since at frequent intervals was reported upon and proposed to be undertaken. * * * It has received unusual criticism, but has at last received the approval and sanction of His Highness' Government. * * * The scheme is to complete the line of water communication which (with the exception of this single barrier) exists from Trevandrum

northward to the ports of Aleppy and Cochin, and the whole of the Northern Districts of Travancore and the Railway station near Beypore, a distance of 228 miles." The scheme consists of extending the existing water communication on both sides by deep cuttings in the hard laterite soil, and of boring two tunnels where the crust is too deep for thorough cutting. The cuttings are nearly finished; and the tunnelling is actively progressing. There is every promise of a successful issue of this grand scheme. The length of the larger of the two tunnels will be 1,000 feet, and the tunnels will be lined with masonry. The estimated cost is 4½ lakhs ; but the actual cost may, at least, go up to half as much more.

A splendid iron girder bridge, supported by well-wrought granite basements, has just been opened at Kuliturai in South Travancore. Smaller bridges of the same sort have been put up by scores all over the country. The lagoons have been lit up in several places by means of beacon lights. A large and spacious range of public offices, and a fine Civil Dispensary adorn the capital. A commodious College house is approaching completion. Numerous District Kacharies, Court-houses, School-houses, Hospitals, Thannahs, &c., have been constructed and are under construction. Mr. Barton, the able and energetic Chief Engineer, deserves every praise, while Mádhava Ráo has ever been able to afford an unstinted supply of funds. It is only irrigation works that have been somewhat backward, though by no means quite neglected. This must be attributed mainly to paucity of competent agency. But in the aggregate Mádhava Ráo can, with pride, point to the great and enduring works which have been undertaken during his ministry, and which have inestimably enhanced the material prosperity of the country.

If the public works in Travancore owe to Mádhava Ráo so much, education owes to him still more. There was but one English school worth the name in the whole of Travancore ; and as for vernacular schools there were none. Alive to the great importance of education, as exemplified in his own case, he strove ceaselessly to extend its benefits in Travancore. We have seen how, year after year, the State expenditure under this head has been increasing. The old English school at the capital was greatly enlarged ; three European masters, two of them graduates of English and Scotch Universities, were appointed ; the standard of education raised, and the whole institution better organised. It is now divided into a Collegiate Department, a Junior Department, and a primary school. In 1869-70, the College showed on its rolls 133 students. They are trained to the University examinations even up to Bachelor of Arts' Degree. The Junior Department contained upwards of 400 students. The primary or

preparatory school contained 180 students. As feeders to this central institution there are 16 district English schools spread over the country, showing an aggregate average daily attendance of 1,222 boys. It is noteworthy that "the Christian element already preponderates and appears to be gradually enlarging." These schools, valuable as they are, could not be expected to reach the masses. So, in 1865-66 the great scheme of vernacular education was started; and the Mahārāja's sanction for an annual outlay of Rs. 20,000 obtained. A central school was opened at Trevandrum, and hand in hand with it a Normal School to train teachers. In time district schools were opened. These now number 31, and at the end of 1869-70, contained 2,426 boys taught by a staff of 101 teachers. Besides these, there are two Girls' Schools in Trevandrum, one in Quilon, and another in Patmanavapuram. The girls in one of the Trevandrum schools have shown so much intelligence that it may be mentioned that some of them work sums in simple equations. As an indispensable adjunct to these vernacular schools, new Malayalam books in the form of translations of elementary English educational works had to be produced. For this a Book Committee was established; and it has turned out a valuable series of books containing sound knowledge in chaste language. Its able and learned President deserves prominent mention. In 1870-71, the system of vernacular education has been still more extended. A scheme was started to open in each Proverti, or sub-division of a taluk (of which there are upwards of 250 in the country), an elementary school; many of these have already come into existence; and allowing the low average of 30 boys in each school, there will be more than 7,500 boys educated in them, in the whole country. The whole department was, till lately, under the masterly management of Mr. Sankarasubbeir, than whom the Travancore service does not contain an abler, more zealous, or more conscientious officer.

Hand in hand with education, medical dispensation has been progressing very usefully. There are a large Civil Hospital, a Charity Hospital, a Lying-in Hospital, and a Lunatic Asylum in Trevandrum itself. There are about ten District Hospitals, besides Jail Dispensaries. In 1869-70, the total number of patients who received medical aid in these was 46,019. The Medical Department practically evinced the great skill and assiduous application of the Durbar Physician, Doctor Æneas Ross. Vaccination is also satisfactorily carried on under a special Superintendent. In 1869-70, 56,593 persons were vaccinated.

We are tempted to dwell upon many more interesting features of Mádhava Ráo's glorious administration of 14 years, but want of space forbids us. However, we must make one more quotation from the last of Mádhava Ráo's Administration Reprts. He

says :—" In conclusion, it may be briefly observed that it is the cherished aim of His Highness' Government to provide for every subject, within a couple of hours' journey, the advantages of a Doctor, a Schoolmaster, a Judge, a Magistrate, a Registering officer, and a Postmaster. The various departments concerned are steadily progressing towards this consummation." Indeed, he found Travancore in the lowest stage of degradation and political disorganisation. He has left it "a model Native State." He has done a great work. He has earned an imperishable name in India.

It has already been said that the Madras Government have, year after year, been congratulating Mádhava Ráo on his administrative success, and that even the Secretary of State accorded to him high eulogy. It may also be added that the State papers drawn up by him on special subjects, such as Interportal duties, the Boundary question, Territorial interchange, Criminal Jurisdiction over European offenders, and so forth, have elicited approbatory notice from British authorities. Both the late and the present Sovereigns of Travancore have, on various occasions, recorded their high satisfaction. Successive British Residents have borne high testimony to his excellent administration. In 1862, when he visited Madras in company with the Mahárájá, he was appointed a Fellow of the Madras University. When he next visited Madras, following his sovereign, who proceeded thither for his investiture with the Insignia of the 'Star of India,' he received his own knighthood. Lord Napier of Merchistoun, after investing Sir Mádhava Ráo, addressed him thus :—

"Sir Mádhava Ráo,—The Government and the people of Madras are happy to welcome you back to a place where you laid the foundation of those distinguished qualities which have become conspicuous and useful on another scene. The mark of Royal favour which you have this day received will prove to you that the attention and generosity of Our Gracious Sovereign are not circumscribed to the circle of her immediate dependents, but that Her Majesty regards the faithful services rendered to the Princes and people of India beyond the boundaries of our direct administration, as rendered indirectly to herself and to her representatives of this Empire. Continue to serve the Mahárájá industriously and wisely, reflecting the intelligence and virtues of His Highness faithfully to his people.

"The mission in which you are engaged has more than a local and transitory significance. Remember that the spectacle of a good Indian Minister serving a good Indian Sovereign is one which may have a lasting influence on the policy of England, and on the future of Native Governments."

The spectacle, however, was not destined to be very long lived. In April last Sir Mádhava Ráo tendered his resignation to his

sovereign. We need not stop here to enquire into the causes of the resignation.

We can well leave them to be guessed by those who have a correct insight into the internal economy of Native States, and the moral influences seething in them. It will also be remembered that an administrator, particularly of an Indian principality, has daily to refuse favours by hundreds. Be it, however, mentioned to the credit of the Mahárájá that he has settled an adequate pension of Rs 1,000 per month on the retired Minister.

We must diverge a little here, and observe that the chances of a native ruler's choice of his minister falling on a person of Sir Mádhava Ráo's high character, independence, and abilities are very few indeed. The British Indian Government cannot for a moment absolve itself from the responsibility of securing by every legitimate means, good government to the millions who reside in Native States. Every subsidiary treaty in India contains a clause empowering that Government to advise, and binding the native potentates to pay "the utmost attention" "at all times" to that advice. The Madras Government said in one of their letters to the Government of India, "that practically, the intercourse between the Madras Government and the Travancore State has not been confined to the occasional tender of advice under that article. The nomination by the Rájá of his Dewan or chief minister is reported for the sanction of Government."

The most thorough-going friends of Native States and enemies to annexation strongly urge upon our Government to advise Native Princes on administrative affairs generally, and particularly to strive to introduce educated natives of high and independent character into their services. When treaties empower advising, when men like Lord Dalhousie have practically endorsed that provision of the treaties, when the staunchest friends of native chiefs like Major Bell strongly urge it, there cannot be a shade of doubt as to the necessity and propriety of that course. And in what respect can that advice be better given than in the choice of a minister? It is well to show a generous confidence by leaving a chief to name his minister; but it is certainly necessary to reserve the privilege of vetoing that selection if the nominee does not enjoy the *fullest confidence*. If we are correctly informed, the Madras Government has ably managed the question of appointing a successor to Sir Mádhava Ráo.

Sir Mádhava Ráo is still in the prime of life, being under 45 years, and having a good and hardy constitution. Administrative work has been almost a second nature to him. He can well be under harness for ten years more. He had an offer of a seat in the Viceregal Legislative Council during Lord Napier's short viceroyalty; but he declined accepting it, owing, we sup-

pose, to a degree of nervousness about venturing into the climate of Northern India, encumbered with a large family. He had also an offer from **Maharájá Holkár** when his connection with Travancore was about to cease. This too he declined, and we think very properly.

The British Government may yet profitably make use of **Sir Mádhava Ráo**, by entrusting to his administrative care a few districts in some of the Non-Regulation Provinces. The Assigned Districts of Hyderabad were formerly under a separate officer, but now are under the Resident, who has abundance of work without them. The districts are accustomed to be administered by native officers; they cannot be placed under a better native statesman than **Sir Mádhava Ráo**. Side by side with **Sir Salár Jang** it would be an honour for him to work. There would be a noble competition between two of India's greatest indigenous statesmen—a competition which would be watched with the greatest interest and the highest expectation, by every true friend of India.

ART. III.—BENOUDHA.

PART II.

VIKRAMADITYA reigned eighty years,* a prodigious length of time for a single individual, an usurper above all, to occupy a throne. And yet, strange to say, he is not singular in this respect, for a second example of the same kind is to be met with among his contemporaries, and it is in no other than Vikramáditya's shadow, Kadphises himself!† The coins of the numismatic monarch, as in space they demand more than a single province, so in time refuse to be confined to the duration of an ordinary reign. Lassen allows them just eighty-five years,‡ a term almost exactly equal to that accorded by the fable to Vikramáditya.

The difficulty of so long a reign in the case of Kadphises disappears before the hypothesis that there were more kings than one of that name. Why should not the same key be applied to the solution of the same difficulty with respect to Vikramáditya? Wilford, indeed, found himself able to string together such an assemblage of facts as to constitute eventful lives for no less than *eight* Vikramádityas.§ The inference that has been drawn from this circumstance, however, is not that there were so many, but that all the stories connected with them are alike open to suspicion. But if there be nothing more conclusive against them than their number, we recognise no reason whatever for depriving any of them of their existence; we know of nothing to force us to the conviction that there was but one personage of the name; we are acquainted with several arguments in favour of there having been more than one. If, we may ask, all the best authenticated events in the lives of several modern kings, namesakes of each other, were arranged in chronological order on grounds independent of the recorded dates of the kings themselves, would it be incumbent on us to cast doubt on any or all of those events, simply because they could not all be crammed into the limits of a single life-time. We think not; and are accordingly disposed

* Fyzabad Report, p. 7.

† As we have alluded to Gondophares, we may cite him as another instance. His name bears an almost literal identity to the designation of the king mentioned in certain old church legends as the ruling potentate of India at the time of the mission of St. Thomas the Apostle; that is, as a legendary being his date

is later by many years than the commencement of our era; as a numismatically-certified monarch, he belongs to a date prior to our era.

Prinsep II., 215, Edr.'s note.

‡ Kadphises I. nach 85 vor Chr. G.

Kadaphis etwa bis 60 v Chr. G.

Kadphises II. seit 24 vor Chr. G. bis etwa 1.

§ Fyzabad Report, p. 7.

to favour the notion of a multiplicity of Vikramádityas. We are then able with the legendary as with the numismatic monarch to explain the long period of his alleged reign by the supposition that it has to be distributed over two or more successions.

We by no means go so far as to say that all Wilford's Vikramádityas ruled over the same provinces or in direct succession. We should certainly find it difficult to assign them all places among the sovereigns of Ayodhyá. Nor again, Kadphises being no more than a title expressive of local connexion, does it by any means follow from the identity of one Vikramáditya with one Kadphises that the two terms are commonly convertible. What we do insist upon is that the unity is established of two individuals, and that the designations they bear being epithets rather than proper names, dynastic rather than personal, the unity extends to the dynasties they belonged to; that the octogenarian Vikramáditya is one with the Yuchí Kings of Kapisa!

No less remarkable than the length of Vikramáditya's reign was the way in which it terminated. "According to tradition, "Rajah Vikramáditya ruled over Ajudhiá eighty years, and at "the end of that time he was outwitted by the Jogí Samudra Pal, "who having by magic made away with the spirit of the Raja, "himself entered into the abandoned body." * Here there is a little confusion, and just of the description we must be constantly on the watch for in weighing the credibility of unwritten records; it blends into one two perfectly distinct events. The Jogí's trick undoubtedly bears reference to the story of Nandivardhana already quoted. It was Nanda, not Vikramáditya, whose body the Jogí entered, and it was "Nanda's being just dead" that suggested the trick.

The name here given to the Jogí alludes to a perfectly different occurrence which will come under notice presently. We ourselves, however, venture to be sceptical as to either the Jogí or Samudra Pal having taken any part in wresting Ayodhyá or Benoudha from Vikramáditya. He needed neither ghost come from the grave, nor spiritual foe of any kind; there were antagonists enough of flesh and blood for him to measure strength with.

We have styled Vikramáditya an usurper; and we have done so without hesitation, because we do not recollect having ever seen the assertion that he was the rightful and hereditary owner of Ayodhyá. As a preliminary, then, to his restoration of that city, it was indispensable for him to obtain possession of it; and we cannot imagine that the then lords of it, the Buddhist priests, tamely acquiesced in his appropriation of it and submitted without a blow. Here, probably, we commence to discover Vikramáditya's

* Fyzabad Report, p. 7.

adversaries. The picture, that presents itself to the mind's eye is that of Ayodhyá, the theatre of religious war ; and we fancy we detect therein the beginning, in Eastern India, of those sanguinary and devastating contests which attended the revival of Bráhmaism and its struggles with the creed of Buddha. "Ayodhyá," says Mr. Carnegy, "is to the Hindu what Mecca is to the Mahomedans and Jerusalem to the Jews ;"* and it is easy also to believe that, while it was in the hands of the Buddhists, it was regarded by the votaries of reviving Bráhmaism much in the same light as Jerusalem was by the Christians of the middle ages, a holy city defiled by the occupation of the infidel ; and thus Vikramáditya's expedition against it partook of the character of a crusade.† Nor was it a religious movement alone that was then inaugurated ; it was accompanied, according to the legends, by another, a re-migration, similar in its nature to the famous Return of the Heraclidæ of Grecian history.

For Vikramáditya was a Ponwar, a Kshattriya, and thus served to sow the seeds of a social as well as a religious revolution ; he and his army were the prototypes of the re-migrant Kshattriyas of later ages. The Bráhmans, with cunning ingenuity, brought to bear upon the champions of their faith the two most powerful influences that can act upon the human mind, patriotism and religion ; and the soldier of Vikramáditya, as he marched against Ayodhyá, was animated with the reflection that he had in view the noble purpose of recovering at once the

Ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his gods.

Of Vikramáditya's other enemies, Saliváhana was the most famous. The contest between them forms an almost inseparable part of their legendary histories. The Bais clan, who claim descent from Saliváhana, still nurse the recollection of their ancestor's victory over Vikramáditya, and tell how "his amusement was "to make clay figures of elephants, horses, and men-at-arms, and "before he had well reached manhood he led his fictile army to do "battle with the great King Bikramajít. When the hosts met, "the clay of the young hero became living brass, and the weapons "of his enemies fell harmless on the hard material. Bikramajít "fled, and took refuge in a large Shewála, whither he was

* Fyzabad Report, p. 5.

† Vikramáditya was according to the legendary accounts a zealous Hindú. As identical with Kadphis-es he was Yuchí ; and "the Chinese annals describe to "us the Yúchí as zealous Buddhists ;" but of "Azes, Kadphis, the Kaner-

"kis, no really Buddhist coin has "been discovered. It must there-fore be left undecided whether "the Chinese reports did transfer to "the Yuchís what was only correct "to maintain as of a part of them." Lassen's Coins, p. 183.

"pursued by Salivahana. At the mere sound of the boy's voice, "the ponderous gates of the temple rolled back, and Bikramajit "acknowledged his conqueror with appropriate homage. A reasonable arrangement was made on the spot for the partition of "the royal power." *

As Saliváhana was a Buddhist, we have here apparently another holy war. The last sentence of the quotation probably chronicles accurately the partial disruption of Vikramáditya's empire; but, as Saliváhana has been identified with the great Andhra family of Sâtakarná,† it may be assumed that the attack which led to this result came from the south, and that Ayodhyá was not part of the territory ceded to Saliváhana.

Let us now see how matters stood towards the west. Archæologists‡ tell us, that in the first century of our era, a Naga dynasty established itself in Bharatpur, Dhalpur, Gwalior, and Bandelkhand, perhaps also part of Málwá, as *Ujain*, Bhilsa, Ságar, or nearly all between the Jamná and upper Narbaddá, the Chambal and the Kayân or Cane. From this we can gather why "after Vikramáditya we hear nothing of the empire in Ujjayini,"§ and how Vikramáditya's power came to be crippled in the west; but we know also that in the east the sway of the Nagas never extended to Ayodhyá.

As then, neither Saliváhana nor the Nagas succeeded in expelling Vikramáditya from Ayodhyá, we have no resource but to despatch a third force against him. Magadha might, perhaps, be a promising base of operations; but a more northerly position appears preferable, Kapila for instance. We have already seen that it may have been a residence, perhaps the capital, of the Buddhist kings; and in after ages it is known to have become an important and independent state. We shall do well then, to keep steadily in view such data as may be forthcoming concerning it in seeking and sifting material for the history of Benoudha. Let us see what we can ascertain respecting it at the period of which we write. We discover one single circumstance to throw light upon the subject, but that is one of peculiar importance. "According to Mr. Csoma de Körös," says Prinsep, "the name of Kanishka occurs in the Tibetan works as a celebrated king in the north of India, who *reigned at Kapila*." The same writer, it is true, speaks of Kapila as being in Róhilkhand or near Hardwár, which would remove it far enough from Ayodhyá; but General Cunningham,|| on the other hand, places the two cities in much closer propinquity, and pronounces that Nagar

* Benett's Clans of Rai Bareli III., 1865.

p. 6.

† Lassen, p. 181.

‡ Anc. Geog. p. 526.

§ Prinsep, I., 38.

As. Soc. Journal. Part I, No.

|| Anc. Geog. s. v. Kapila.

or Nagar Khas in the northern division of Oudh* beyond the Ghagra river, and therefore in Kosala, possesses very strong claims to be identified with the ancient city of Kapila.

This is, at it were, a bridge over a narrow but otherwise impassable gulf; but once over it we need no longer complain of dearth of matter for argument or conjecture. Kanishka was King of Kapila; and if we question Prinsep further we shall find that Kanishka belonged to a Sakyan dynasty, of *Indian origin*. If we refer back a few pages, it will be seen that some centuries earlier a Saka dynasty ruled over Ayodhyá, and that Kapila was in their dominions. Again, if we consult Lassen's list of Kings,† we shall learn that Kanishka belonged to a dynasty that succeeded the Yúchís; and the same author corroborates the statement that the Kanerkís (partly at least) took possession of the dominions of the Kadphises.‡ The same conclusion is pointed to by the juxtaposition of the coins of Kanerki and Kadphises in Ayodhyá, in Sultánpur and in other parts of India. These remarks apply to Kanishka, and if, as Prinsep surmises, Kanerki and Kanishka are one with the locally famous Kanak Sen,§ they hold equally good with regard to Kanak Sen; what is true of Kanishka is true also of Kanak Sen. All these facts collectively amount to this, that numismatically speaking, the expulsion of the Yúchí Kadphises from Ayodhyá was effected by the Sakyan King Kanishka of Kapila; or which is the same thing interpreted into the language of tradition, it was no other than Kanak Sen by whom Vikramáditya was deprived of his kingdom, Ayodhyá being at the same time re-annexed to Kapila.

Kanak Sen, like Vikramáditya, ceased to hold Ayodhyá before his death; he is said to have migrated to the Panjáb,|| and thence to Gujarát, where he founded the Vallabhi dynasty. Now we know that Kanishka's kingdom embraced much of the Panjáb; and with this fact before us, the direction of Kanak Sen's migration demands particular attention. In the first place, it constitutes an additional argument in support of the identity of Kanishka and Kanak Sen; but its principal importance lies in its guiding

* What is here meant by the northern division of Oudh is explained by the following passage:—"Ayodhya was the capital of Benoudha, or Oudh to the south of the Ghâgra, while Sravasti was the capital of Uttara Kosala, or Oudh to the north of the Ghâgra." Anc. Geo. s. v. Sravasti.

† Prinsep, II., 177.

‡ Lassen's Coins, p. 125.

§ We imagine that in the legends

Kanak Sen rather represents the whole dynasty of Kanishka, than Kanishka alone, just as we have argued that one Vikramáditya represents a dynasty. At the same time, we think it very possible that Kanak Sen was actually identical with the famous Kanishka, and the actual emigrant from Ayodhyá, though not the actual founder of the Vallabhi dynasty.

|| Prinsep, I., 283.

us simultaneously towards the head-quarters of both Kanishka and Kadphises, and so assisting us to perceive that the struggle between the legendary heroes on the east was closely connected with the strife between the numismatic monarchs on the west. We might, perhaps, be justified in believing that we discern here one of those mighty waves of conquest which have from time to time swept over India; starting from Ayodhyá, it gathered strength and volume as it proceeded, to burst in full force and overwhelm the Yúchí power in the north-western corner of the country.

In supporting Kanak Sen's pretensions to the throne of Ayodhyá, we follow both traditional and numismatic testimony; and so to be consistent we should make his lineage agree with that described in both those sources of information. One of them, however, makes him belong to the Solar races, the other indicates a Scythian origin. This is at first sight rather startling, but it need not disconcert us; we have seen precisely the same thing happen with regard to Sakya Muni, for the line of Sakya has been seen to have been grafted on the Solar stem as far back as the time of Suddodhana his father. This being the case, the question presents itself to us whether so similar an account is given of the origin of two different Saka Kings of Kapila in consequence of an independent error regarding each, or whether the one necessarily follows the other. The unscrupulous distortions of fact, occasionally perceptible in Bráhmanical records, permits the conjecture that Kanak Sen was just as little connected with his so-called predecessors in the Solar line as Suddodhana Rájá was with his; and that the one and the other were groundlessly misrepresented to be of Solar origin simply to gloss over changes of dynasty and conceal the vicissitudes of fortune which Ayodhyá the Blessed had experienced. But if the legends and genealogies be accepted as correct, they suggest a train of very different reflections, and tempt us to take a rapid retrospective glance over the history of the six preceding centuries: they tend to show that Kanak Sen was the descendant in a direct line of Suddodhana and Sakya Muni; that during the long interval embraced between the establishment of the Seshnágs on the throne of Magadha and the commencement of the Samvat era, while the doctrines of Sakya Muni were being rapidly diffused over the most distant regions of Asia, his descendants still retained their temporal power and regal position at Ayodhyá or Kapila, and that they were the same with the Buddhist priests who "it has been affirmed were then masters of Ayodhyá, and who "recognized" the Kings of Magadha as their nominal chiefs;"* that their line terminated with Sumitra, the contemporary of Vikramáditya† for whom it was reserved to compel them to

* Notes on Races, p. 1.

† Prinsep, U. T., 235.

evacuate Ayodhyá ;* and that when after some years, Vikramāditya in turn had to resign his conquest, it was to a descendant of Sumitra, and no other than Kanak Sen.

Kanak Sen is said to have "migrated" from Ayodhyá. But princes are not in the habit of becoming emigrants and throwing up one crown simply to seek another, so long as they find it possible to retain the one they have in present possession ; so we may conceive that Kanak Sen's "migration" is merely an euphemism for his forcible expulsion, *i.e.*, from Ayodhyá ; we are not at present speaking of any other part of his dominions. We must, however, see whether there were any causes at work in his vicinity calculated to lead to this result. We readily find one so sufficient in itself that we cease to look for more. First let us examine one or two dates. Kanak Sen's foundation of a dynasty in Gujarát is dated A.D. 144 ; but we think it will be conceded that there is ample room for doubt whether the emigrant and the dynastic founder were absolutely identical, and the two events, the Alpha and Omega, of Kanak Sen's history occurred in one and the same generation. Some time must be allowed for his sojourn in the Panjáb ; and, unless kingdoms were more easily acquired at that period than would appear probable from the number of rivals who were then contending for them, some further period must have elapsed between his departure from the Panjáb and his establishment in Gujarát. The exact duration of these intervals it is impossible to determine with certainty, but we may with safety throw back Kanak Sen's migration from Ayodhyá into the first century of our era. Kanishka's date, as fixed by Lassen, is from A.D. 10 to 40.

Now it was in the first century that there arose the powerful empire of the Guptas, the limits of which are thus defined :† "Princes of the Gupta race will possess all those countries, the "banks of the Ganges to Pryâga, Saketa and Magadha." From this passage alone we derive proof positive that, at that period, Ayodhyá again became an appanage of Magadha.

Nor are reasons for hostile collision between the two neighbouring states of Kapila and Magadha far to seek. Even Bráhmancial traditions admit that the later Solar princes embraced Buddhism, whence we may infer that it was the religion of Kanak Sen ; and it is indubitable that Kanishka was a warm patron of Buddhism. The Guptas, on the other hand, were conspicuous for their support of Bráhmanism ; not only did they actively encourage the propagation of that creed ; they also signalised themselves by bitter persecution of those who professed the rival faith of Buddhism. Here, then, irrespective of the ever-present motive

* "The age of Vikrama follows Fyzabad Report, p. 2.

the supposed subjection of the Buddhists," Marshman, p. 18 ; see also † Anc. Geo., s. v. Srâvasti, quoting Váyu Purána.

of temporal aggrandizement, were causes which might easily induce the one State to take up arms against the other. Diversity of religious opinion, it may be objected, is not necessarily provocative of war: friendly relations, nay, even close alliances, have often existed between states of opposite religions. But the same causes produce widely different results at different times: their action is directed by the temper of the age; and it must be remembered that we are now speaking of an epoch notable for the prosecution of those wars of which we traced the commencement in Vikramáditya's expedition against Ayodhyá.

We now arrive at the conclusion that Kanak Sen's exodus from Ayodhyá was more compulsory than the soft term used in legends would imply; and that it was directly attributable to the nascent power of the Guptas. It is to this event, we opine, that the name of Samudra Pál, above seen to be confounded with that of the Jogí, bears reference; for Pála is but a synonym of Gupta, and Samudra was one of the most famous of that line. With this event, also, unless we abandon Prinsep's conjecture, we are compelled to associate the cessation of Kanishka's possession of Ayodhyá.

To digress a moment. Sáketa and Pryága are named together in the Váyu Purána as border cities. We have already found them occupying that position once before, many ages previously; but how great a change has been accomplished in the interval! They are still landmarks of both religion and political power, but how different is the religious aspect of the country on either side of them! When we first found them in conjunction, they formed the easternmost boundary of Ikshváku's empire, and of the advancing tide of Bráhmanism, of Bráhmanism in its primitive, pre-Buddhistic form, which in its full development was never destined to pass beyond them, while further East lay the various modes of superstition practised by the aborigines: at the time we write of, on the other hand, on the West throughout the tract where Ikshváku had ruled of old, Buddhism had for centuries entirely supplanted Bráhmanism, while to the East lay one of the principal centres of the Bráhmanic revival!

The boundary line of Sáketa and Pryága was soon obliterated, and this brings us back to our immediate subject. The Guptas speedily encroached on the territories of the Nagas, and reduced those princes to subjection; for Ganapati, one of their number, is enumerated in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as one of Samudra Gupta's nine tributary princes of Aryavartta. It is probable enough, moreover, that even this does not adequately describe the rapid extension of the Gupta empire. The Saka era, of which the initial year was A.D. 79, is said to have derived its appellation from the defeat and expulsion from India of the

Sakas by Vikramáditya: the hero of this story has been held to be Chandragupta Vikramáditya of Magadha, and the site of the decisive battle-field is still pointed out at Kahrór near Multán. Here, then, we have a predecessor of Samudra leading his hosts almost to the extreme West of India as early as the year A.D. 79. As we have just witnessed the contest of the Guptas with Kanishka for Ayodhyá in comparatively close proximity to their capital, we may, perhaps, trace therein the incipient formation at Palibothra, the capital of Magadha, of a second wave of conquest, that of the Guptas, similar to the one we saw commence its roll from Kapila.

We may here point out, not without much diffidence, a possible reading of this page of history. Kanishka belonged to a "Sakyan dynasty, to which the term Indoscythic very aptly "applies;"* and the Gupta coinage is closely connected with the Indo-Scythic, the former being a direct descendant of the latter. Again, on the one hand we know that Kashmír formed part of the empire of Kanishka, on the other Kalhana Pandit tells a story of the conquest of Kashmír by Vikramáditya, of Srávastí; and the Ayodhyá legends run that "Rajah Srí Chandar † is supposed "to have been called from *Srínaggar* near Badrí Nath in the "Himalayas . . . and to have established his capital at the place "known by the various names of Bastu, Chandávati, Srávastí "and Sahet-Mahet, near Ekona in the Bahraich district." We seem to be making a new acquaintance in Vikramáditya of Srávastí; but we soon discover him to have been a persecutor of the Buddhists,† and his probable date to have been about A.D. 79; so that by means of the two particulars of character and date we are tempted to recognise in him Chandragupta Vikramáditya of Magadha. If we are right in doing so, we may credit the Guptas with the conquest of Kashmír. Now, to recapitulate succinctly; Kanishka was a Sakyan prince and ruler of Ayodhyá and Kashmír; Chandragupta Vikramáditya founded the Saka era after a triumph over the Sakas; he drove Kanishka out of Ayodhyá, and conquered his province of Kashmír; the coins of the Guptas follow in direct succession to those of the Indo-Scythic princes. This chain of evidence appears to us to render possible the conclusion that it was in commemoration of the overthrow of Kanishka's dynasty that the Saka era was established, and that the battle of Kahrór was the termination of a struggle which commenced in the neighbourhood of Ayodhyá!

During the whole of the Gupta period, Ayodhyá remained an undistinguished province of the Magadha empire; but towards

* Prinsep, I., 241.

† Anc. Geo., s.v. Srávastí.

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

the commencement of the fourth century A.D., under Budha Gupta, the "dynasty shorn of its high estate was fast verging to complete extinction." Many of their tributaries simply changed masters and became vassals of the Balhara Kings of Gujarát; but we hesitate to say that this was the fate of Ayodhyá for though the Balhara Kings are said to have been lords paramount of India, we can find no such marks of the active exercise of their sovereignty at Ayodhyá as are discernible in connection with their predecessors. Ayodhyá, perhaps, professed a nominal allegiance, but was to all intents and purposes independent. If the subversion of the Magadha supremacy did not lead immediately to the independence of many petty States, it almost certainly paved the way to their creation. Thus, though history is silent about Ayodhyá, we know that in the fifth century, Kapila had its own king not only autonomous, but of sufficient importance to send an embassy to China; his kingdom very possibly embraced Ayodhyá. Elphinstone, indeed, would contend that Kapila here signifies Magadha; but as he does not state his reasons, it is important to notice that at the time he wrote, numismatologists appear to have considered that the initial year of the Gupta era coincided with the commencement of the Gupta empire, so that the glory of Magadha would have been at its zenith in the fifth century. But it is now more generally held that the era was introduced by the downfall of the dynasty; so that at the time of the embassy there was no King of Magadha for whom the King of Kapila could be intended. In the seventh century, moreover, we know from the testimony of Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, that Kapila was separate and independent.

By that time, however, the individuality of Ayodhyá had been restored; and here, indeed, we reach a point where the history of Benoudha ceases to be, as it has hitherto been, wholly identical with that of its capital, for both Ayodhyá and its southern neighbour Kusapura are plainly enumerated by Hwen Thsang among the seventy States of which India was composed.

The pilgrim's accuracy on this point has been questioned: the exact measurements of modern times show that there is not sufficient land to furnish forth so many kingdoms of so large a size as he describes. It has consequently been stated that it is almost "certain that several of the minor States should be included in the boundaries of the larger ones that Vaisâkha, and Kusapura and the other small districts of the Gangetic Doab, Ayuto, Hayamukha, Kosâmbi and Pryâga were included in Kanoj;" and again "in Central and Eastern India all the different States from Sthâneswara to the mouth of the Ganges and from the Himâlaya to the banks of the Nerbudda and Mahanadí river were subject to Harsha Vardhana, the great

"King of Kanoj. He was the paramount sovereign of thirty-six "States." But, for our own part, we venture to dissent from this argument; we rather follow Lassen who says that Hwen Thsang's measurements must be received with caution, as is indeed apparent from the numerous alterations General Cunningham finds it necessary to make in them; for we think it more likely that Hwen Thsang was mistaken in the size of the areas of particular States than in the number of States of which the country consisted; the second point admits of easy ascertainment, the first is much more difficult.

We accordingly adopt, in its entirety, Hwen Thsang's statement as to the independence of Ayodhyá and Kusapura in his time. We believe also that they remained in that condition up to the time of the first Muhammadan invasion. In the interval it was that the power of the Bhars and other similar tribes reached its highest pitch; and legends, our only guide on the subject, are unanimous in describing them to have divided their lands into petty States, perfectly unconnected with each other, and among the best known of them an Ayodhyá and a Kusapura. Such also is the picture of the country at that time sketched by the Emperor Bábar: "All "Hindustán was not at that period subject to a single Emperor; "every Rajah set up for a monarch on his own account in his "own petty territories."

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ART. IV.—SELECTIONS FROM INDIAN RECORDS.

Selections from Unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767 inclusive ; relating mainly to the social condition of Bengal. With a Map of Calcutta in 1784. By the Rev. J. Long, Member of the Record Commission. Vol. I. Published under the sanction of the Government of India. Calcutta. Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1869.

THE Rev. J. Long, as a member of the Indian Government Record Commission, has been able, before leaving India, to issue from the Government Press a very useful book of "Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government for the years 1748 to 1767 inclusive, with a Map of Calcutta in 1784 ;" the latter a curious and suggestive sheet, illustrative of what the "City of Palaces" was nearly a century ago. Unfortunately, for the value of the work, Mr. Long takes into his plan of procedure only the social documents, leaving the political papers to others, a course which necessarily robs him of many interesting records. Political life of a marked character, and capable of making deep impressions on the history of nations, has never been wanting in India. Social life, on the other hand, has always been like a Dead Sea if not of inanity at least of absolute *sameness*, unchanged from age to age. At times, indeed, there has been a surface-ripple caused by the progress of some beneficent or devastating conqueror ; but essentially the life of India has, for generation after generation, gone on in the same channels, and with the same characteristics in this generation and that. The East India Company only troubled itself with the social life of India when social affairs bordered on and affected politics. Hence, we think, the two subjects ought to have gone together ; and instead of one member of the Commission taking the social and another the political, the division should have been made by periods—terms of years—as short as the compilers pleased, but confined within reasonable limits by a fixed rule.

However, Mr. Long's work is now before the public, and we must take it as it is, and glean from it what we can of a strange and eventful period in the history of affairs which have influenced the entire world, and that in a degree little dreamt of by the cursory reader of history. At the time when Mr. Long's records begin, the English may be said to have been about a century in India as a moving power, a force sufficient to affect the magnet of Indian politics in a sensible though, at first, a somewhat imperceptible degree. Our forefathers set down their feet firmly, on the southern coast, and on the banks of the Hoogly during Cromwell's protectorship. A few years later Bombay came to us as a Royal wedding-

gift ; altogether, during the century preceding the date of Mr. Long's earliest documents, we may be said to have laid down the lines of dominion from the three great gateways of our now splendid empire. Not that those old heroes and statesmen of John Company ever dreamt of the extent to which their work would eventually grow. The wildest English dream never went so far as that ; though there were French dreams, brilliant and not by any means impracticable, which went quite as far, if indeed they did not extend farther, to that empire of the world which Alexander too dreamt of, but never achieved. The men of the English East India Company had no far-sighted dreams, no clairvoyance of any kind, but a remarkable statesmanship in some cases, and an equally remarkable executive power in many more. In fact, we began with executive power, and to that power we owe the perpetuation of our rule. Our competitors on the Hoogly were the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Portuguese, to all of which the records refer more or less throughout. The Dutch and English, however, made their factories to rest upon the most practical basis ; and, when the vast energies called into existence by Cromwell's stern reign had to seek new channels under the Restoration, part of the energy flowed eastward, as well as westward, and England may be said to have started foremost in the race both as a conquering and colonising power.

There is no possibility of doubt that the French had those dreams of very extensive conquest to which reference is made above. The brilliant deeds of Dupleix and Labourdonnais seemed to be stepping-stones to empire ; and at one time had to all appearance extinguished the English, even as a commercial power, in India. The tide began to turn about the date at which these records open. About that time Clive may be said to have appeared on the scene. Arcot was defended in 1751, Dupleix went home in 1754, Bussy and Lally henceforth intrigued and fought to no sensible purpose, looked at from this distant time ; Calcutta had been taken and re-taken, and the terrible penalty exacted. In short the great events connected with the names of Dupleix, Labourdonnais, Lally, and Bussy, and with the rise of Clive and his final retirement from India, are all included in this period. At the date when the records open, Warren Hastings was sixteen years of age. He came to India in 1750, a lad of eighteen, and had made a big mark in history before the period at which this volume of records closes.

The first record (25th February 1748) pictures to us the alarm of the factories at a dread rumour that the Mahrattas were upon them. In the following month the rumours grew thicker and more alarming. The terrible horsemen, of whom comparatively little

was known at that time were coming by the Soonderbunds and threatened Dacca ; one party remaining near Burdwan, and other parties scattered over the country pillaging as they came. The Dutch factory of Futtea had been plundered to the extent of Rs. 65,000, by people from Patna. Within the same month the Mahrattas had advanced to Calcutta itself, and had taken Tannah Fort, which, Mr. Long tells us, stood on the site now occupied by the house of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens. A month later a number of English boats were stopped by a zemindar near Pulta. The Mahrattas had spread like locusts, and to mend the matter a French fleet was reported on its way to Pondicherry. Towards the end of the month a gentleman whose name will not easily be lost from the page of history—Omichund, the Bengal millionaire, appears on the scene, as an agent of the Company, for the purchase and sale of goods. The following summary of his history is interesting :—

“Omichund first appears in 1748 as a man of such weight that the Mahratta General on his march to Patna corresponded with him. He had some influence with Seraj-ud-dowlah when Calcutta was taken. He told the Nawab he had never known the English for four years, guilty of breaking their word, to the truth of which he took his oath by touching a Brahmin's foot, and that if a lie could be proved in England on any one they were spit upon and never trusted. In January 1757 his effects were ordered to be sequestered for disloyalty, but as there was no direct evidence, the measure was not carried out. Clive describes Omichund as intriguing and recommends him a visit of devotion to Malda. The black inhabitants of Calcutta petitioned that Omichund might not share in the restitution money of 20 lakhs granted to the Bengalis, the Government rejected the petition, though the people shewed that the Nawab's colors were hoisted in his house, his goods were not plundered, and that his two servants conducted the Nawab into Calcutta, broke open the prison house, released the criminals and plundered the town.

“In 1759 the Bengal Government got a wiggling from the Court for making a contract with Omichund for 58,000 maunds of saltpetre at six Arcot Rupees the maund, when Mr. Parkes contracted at Patna for 51,000 maunds at 2-14 Sicca per maund ; thus the Government lost by Omichund Rs. 70,000.

“Omichund by his will left Rs. 1,500 to the Treasurer of the Foundling Asylum, the same to the Magdalen, both were paid.”

The Dutch and English drew together, about the same time, as against the French, and the former two allies cut off all communication with Chandernagore. The English Company, however, was almost precluded from acting for lack of money ; and a little later when the Dutch informed the Governor of Calcutta that the French from Chandernagore had broken into the Dutch garden at Chinsura, and hence broken the peace of the Hoogly, the English contented

themselves with an appeal to the Nawab. Here too they reckoned without their host, as men short of money and means for fighting often do. The Nawab instead of answering in the expected way wrote a menacing letter, stating that he had heard bad stories of the English, who were accused of seizing the goods of merchants, Syuds, Moguls, Armenians, and others, on the pretence that the goods were French property ; and he enjoined the immediate return of those goods, or he warned the merchants of " a due chastisement in such a manner as you least expect." In this position, at the beginning of 1749, were the founders of the English Empire in India. The dispute between the Company and the Armenians, &c., seems to have been continued during the year. Towards the end of it the English were fined by the Nawab in the large sum of twelve lakhs of rupees, and were made to account for what the King's ships had done to the French. This was held to be a peculiarly hard case since the Company had no more power over the King's ships than over the man in the moon. However, such was their position that anything beyond grumbling was out of the question. The time for something beyond grumbling was fast approaching, with a magnificent destiny for the oppressed Company.

There is nothing in this volume that shows more clearly the progress of the East India Company's power than the references to the Mahrattas. At the beginning of the records, we find these wild and dangerous enemies hovering round the factories, and paying periodical visits, levying black mail, and plundering in all directions, evidently despising the merchants who had their head offices in an obscure place called London, somewhere over the Motea—the gods only knew where. When the plundering was finished the wild men retreated at their leisure with their spoils. Before the end of the volume, in 1764, we find them offering to assist the English with cavalry against Seraj-ud-dowlah. Wonderful change ! Clive meantime had appeared on the scene, and had shown that he and his countrymen could take care of themselves, and inflict damage on their enemies. From that time the Mahrattas and many other people were ready to take care of these English adventurers, and help them to inflict injury on all and sundry, except, you know, gentlemen—*ourselves*, your very good friends. It was the world-old principle that " God helps those who help themselves"—who are lucky enough, for instance, to have a hero like Clive (who ought in all reason to have broken his neck at Market Drayton church steeple) preserved to defend, as Clive defended Arcot, and to win, as he won Plassey.

We shall not attempt to carry the reader from page to page through the volume ; but instead of that, shall take from it a few memorable facts and incidents bearing on great names and deeds

which were the foundation stones of empire, or which afford such glimpses as can be given by this imperfect record of the social characteristics of the people. Mr. Long says, however, that "unfortunately, for a complete description, the scanty nature of the early records is a great barrier; white-ants, damp, the pilfering of ill-paid dufteries, and borrowing without returning, have reduced the number considerably. But it is remarkable in what a good condition both the paper and ink of those remaining are. The great hurricane and inundation of 1737 must have destroyed many records; but the capture of Calcutta in 1756 swept nearly all away; even the account books and Government Bonds in the hurry of flight were left behind, and the Court of Directors were, in consequence, for years in great difficulties how to balance their accounts. After the battle of Plassey, documents become more numerous; and subsequent to 1772 they are abundant on every subject."

I shall take first the glimpses given of the several European nations who had found a foothold in India. The French appear foremost in intrigue where all were intriguers; three of their pilots appear in palanquins at Balasore and give out that they are in daily expectation of a French squadron. We next find Frenchmen breaking into the Dutch garden at Chinsura, January 3rd, 1749—violating the neutrality of the Ganges. At the same time they are our active commercial enemies everywhere. Indeed, the Company's officers at this time have a strong impression that the French are inconvenient neighbours at Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Dacca, and elsewhere. Five years later, there are alarming rumours that they are fitting out privateers. But their ill luck attends them. The Chandernagore settlement is captured, and Seraj-ud-dowlah is taken, while his French friends are within three hours' march from him. These are a few of many glimpses, mere glimpses, however, given to us in these records of the East India Company's most dangerous rivals in India.

We have like glimpses of the Dutch, who appear, even in these brief records, as far more anxious about their commerce than solicitous for empire. At times they are our very good allies. At times they appear as complainants against our exacting policy; and in such cases these complaints are as a rule promptly listened to both in Bengal and England, neither the Government nor the Company having any wish for a Dutch war. Sometimes we have counter-complaints urged by the English. The Danes first come before us in these records as favouring the French, to the great indignation of the Company's servants; and a Danish vessel is seized. This is in 1759. In the same year they supply provisions to the French. In the following year, the Danish settlement is in danger, and the Governor applies to the Council for cannon, which are refused. In fact the complaints from Danes and Dutch are

incessant throughout the Company's records, though it is remarkable how well and truly the Council scent their real danger, their only formidable adversaries, the French. Almost everything hinges on them, and when power is brought to bear on the other two nations, French influence is always, or nearly always, the ulterior object.

The Portuguese day of conquest had gone before the English Company's began ; but the descendants of the enterprising men who first visited and made so deep an impression on the East remained, and were mixed up intimately with every commercial transaction of the Company. Their competitors were the Armenians, chiefly. Thus stood the affairs of European nations in India before the last decisive struggle between the French and English began. Portugal was virtually drawing out of the contest, but aiming at individual wealth. Denmark and Holland would have been content with armed factories, and a certain commensurate influence on the districts around. England, it is all but certain, had no clear idea that she was founding an Eastern Empire. France alone made no secret of it, that that was her magnificent aim ; and in fighting against that the English Company began to adopt the very idea that they were fighting to extinguish. France sought for empire, and missed it. England, at whatever time that began to be her aim, very soon found that the royal endurance and indomitable will were hers.

Then, we have glimpses which cannot fail to be interesting of historical personages. Clive, of course, is most prominent ; stern, inflexible, dominating everything with which he comes in contact, never advocating the half-and-half measure when the thorough one is possible. If an intelligent stranger, dropped down from the clouds, were to dip into these records he would soon fix upon the one man who, granting life, and accidents apart, would make the deepest mark in the history of India. How loyal and even tender he could also be to his comrades, we find in several instances, such as the death of his old colleague Admiral Watson. Seraj-ud-dowlah also appears, painted by Clive's inflexible hand ; and from the same unsparing pen Omichund stands before us as life-like as if he were on the canvas. Clive admits him to be a useful man, but warns the Council against his intrigue, which is inveterate. Omichund's first appearance in these records is in connection with a theft from the Company. He, acting as the Company's agent, is entrusted with the delicate task of recovering the goods. Rich, and capable, he aims high, plays deeply and never dreams that he is watched by the sharpest pair of eyes, or the sharpest but one pair of eyes, in India ; perhaps the sharpest were in the head of Hastings. We might refer

to a host of sketches—of Nundcomar, and others whose names will remain in connection with the more memorable figures of that marvellous historical picture. Warren Hastings appears in a trading transaction, which he doubtless managed well. Next we find him calmly indignant because the English never are mentioned but with pity and contempt at the Court of Moorshedabad. Again we find him interpreter to the Nawab, as a man “thoroughly agreeable to both” the Nawab and to Colonel Coote who is in consultation with him. In 1763 Mr. Hastings, having done good service to the Council, obtains permission to build a bridge over the “Callighaut Nulla,” on the way to his house. As we have already said, these are glimpses merely, not pictures of the men whose names are referred to. Still they are valuable as historical scraps, carefully collected, condensed, and made useful for future reference; all perhaps, that the painstaking, able, and genial compiler ever intended them to accomplish.

Let us now, before closing, take a few scraps of a different kind. There is in the Records a great deal of information about Calcutta. A Charity School of from 12 to 14 boys exists, and the trustees ask for it a grant of blue perbits, or some other cloth, and some stationery; the first time a charity school is heard of, I presume, in Anglo-Indian records. Another item hands down the fact that the seamen of the *Marlborough*, having defended Calcutta, should be rewarded with fifty rupees each, and be informed that the Council highly approve of their conduct. A little later we have votes allowing Roman Catholics and Armenians to live in Calcutta, provided the former are not troublesome, but no Roman Catholic priest or layman is to live in Fort William while the French war continues. A rather important item tells us that military seniority is a failure, and that no regard ought to be paid to it—showing that the need was felt of dealing sternly with stern work; a fact to which we shall again recur when the danger threatens. About the same time it is decided to turn the Calcutta theatre into a church. I might cull facts as to the cutting of the ditch to protect Calcutta, as to the objection of the Council to granting land for gardens within the city—(“let people reside there, but as compactly as possible”) the establishment of a *dák* from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, &c. At the same time docks are proposed to be made, and sepoy raised for defence of the city, but above all “the French are to be distressed by every means.” The President of the Council presents to the Nawab a fine organ clock valued at 5,000 rupees. The Council decides that the junior servants of the Company have no need of the baneful luxury of palanquins. Enemies, European and Native, are around, but the Council are as guarded as ever as to the small points which seem like the thin end of the wedge. A young lady named Campbell

has been shipped at the Downs ostensibly for Madeira. If the ostensible is not the real object, Miss Campbell is to be reshipped at the cost of the owners of the vessel. No ladies, nor gentlemen either, must enter India without the Company's permission.

Here we must take leave of Mr. Long's selections; we fear the last work of his that we shall have to review as written in India itself, though we hope not by many the last that he will write for India, and for the purpose of making Indian affairs better known in England. He has done the best that could be done with his restricted material. He has given us glimpses of actual life, suggestive of thought to even the cursory reader, and valuable in a more important degree to the students of history. It certainly was a difficult task to separate the political from the social features of the records; and we think it should not have been attempted, for almost as much trouble must have been needed for the separation as for the after selection. With that drawback, however, Mr. Long's work is well done, as much other work has been done by him heretofore.

J. R.

ART. V.—THE SECT OF “THE ASSASSINS.”

PART II. THE FATIMITE CALIPHS.

AMONG the Arabs there was no division of the globe known under the name of “Africa.” Egypt was not included at all in that continent, and the name of ‘Afrikia’ applied only to the northern parts of Africa, which at present include the kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, known generally as Barbary. This tract of country was divided by them into three parts,—*Further Magreb*, extending from the shores of the Atlantic, to Telemsae, *Central Magreb* and *Afrikia* which extended from Oran to the frontiers of Egypt. The great desert formed its southern boundary. The Atlas mountains were its most remarkable natural feature. These extend across the whole of Northern Africa, or to speak more correctly they form a series of parallel chains running north-east and south-west, and separated from each other by level valleys of varying width. The highest parts of this range are the snow capped mountains which separate Morocco from the desert. The next loftiest are the mountains of Aures which extend nearly to the Tunis frontier, and between these are several minor ranges, having rich sheltered plains running up between them, the abundant harvests of which made Numidia in the old time the granary of Rome. As the mountain land approaches Tripoli, the hills and the valleys between them become parched and sterile, and finally reach the frontiers of Egypt—a chain of barren rocks. All the western and more fruitful parts of this strip of Africa were known to the Arabs, as “the land of dates” from the abundance of that fruit which they produced. The date trees clustered round the feet of the hills, and for miles and miles, between the southern slopes of the Atlas and the inhospitable waste of the Great Desert, the interminable groves threw a broad and grateful shadow over the land.

The indigenous inhabitants of this region were known to early historians and geographers as *Libyans*, and there can be very little doubt that these Libyans are the people known in Arabian history as *Berbers*, the descendants of whom are still to be found in the south and west of Fezzan—a tall, noble-looking race of men, fair skinned, though embrowned by the scorching rays of an African sun, and with a certain air of pride, and indomitable love of freedom stamped upon their faces, their actions and their speech.

While the broad belt of desert which encloses the central regions of Africa has preserved them from any violent changes, or any notable part in the world’s history, the northern regions have been again and again the theatre of great events. Here

the great Carthaginian Republic flourished and fell. From the brave and hardy mountaineers of the Atlas she recruited the far famed Numidian Horse, whose swords did such fearful execution on the battle fields of Thrasymene, and Cannæ. Mounted on their small Barbary horses, they needed no saddles, and a halter of twisted rushes served them for bridle. The skin of a lion or tiger was their dress by day and their couch at night. When they fought on foot a piece of elephant's hide served them as a shield. Their onset was dreadful by reason of the speed and cunning of their horses. If unsuccessful, they eluded pursuit by scattering like so much chaff before a gust of wind, till a fresh opportunity arose, when the broken fragments would re-unite with the swiftness of lightning and in one compact body swoop down upon their prey. These mercenary troops were at once the strength and the weakness of the Carthaginian Republic. They were irreclaimable barbarians, with all the virtues and the faults of the savage. Severed into a vast number of tribes, divided from each other by hereditary hatreds, they rejected every attempt to make them abandon this savage and bloody independence. They hated all order, and all masters, good, bad or indifferent. Greedy of plunder, and reckless of life, they fought with rare courage in the armies of the Republic. But they had no love for the mistress for whom they gave their lives. At the least offence their swords were ready to sheathe themselves in the bosom they were intended to defend. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, treated these mercenary troops with that utterly callous indifference to the rights and feelings of "barbarians" which is characteristic of the old world. The mutual hatred long enkindled broke out at the close of the first war with Rome. The army of Carthage rose against the city, and nearly brought her to destruction. The "war of the mercenaries," though ultimately brought to a successful conclusion, inflicted a wound upon the Republic from which she never recovered. It revealed the secret of her weakness. The wandering tribes of Mount Atlas discovered that they held her fate in their hands, and with the characteristic fickleness of the savage, they flocked to the banners of Scipio so soon as he had landed in Africa. And so Rome triumphed, and Carthage fell. The one power was founded upon the rock of patriotism; the other upon the shifting sand of a mercenary army which crumbled away in the moment of need. Nothing less than the matchless genius of Hannibal could have prevailed to maintain the unequal struggle so long.

Carthage fell; the wars against Jugurtha were fought out to their bloody conclusion; the Vandals drove out the Romans; the Romans drove out the Vandals; Northern Africa from one end to the other became a theatre of religious persecution, wasted with fire and sword, but through all these tempests

and vicissitudes, the mountaineers preserved untainted their barbarism and independence. They continued as of old to wander over the desert and build their villages in the valleys running up between the parallel ranges of the Atlas. The poorer classes devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil; the richer wandered with their flocks and herds from one pasture land to another; each tribe had its own chiefs; and they were in unison upon one matter only. No fixed Government should ever be allowed to restrict the liberty they so dearly loved. Their matchless and innumerable cavalry was ever at the disposal of any one who would aid them in casting off an existing yoke, whether of Carthaginian, Vandal, Roman or Arab. The Berbers were, in a word, the Afghans of Northern Africa; like them devoured by internal feuds, like them fierce and untameable, and too low in the scale of development, to care for aught but the savage unfettered independence of their own Libyan lions; and like them, curiously enough, ranging under four great tribal divisions, the Zenata, the Hawara, the Tanhadja, and the tribes of Ketama. It is necessary to keep these traits in recollection to understand the politics of Northern Africa under the domination of the Arabs.

The re-conquest of Northern Africa by Belisarius paved the way for the victories of the Arabs. Before that event, the land had recovered from the ravages of the first Vandal conquerors, and was rich with the accumulated treasures of peace and prosperity. But afterwards, the insatiable rapacity, and persecuting spirit of the Byzantine Court, kindled the flames of war from one end of the province to the other, and "such" Gibbon tells us "was the desolation of Africa that in many parts a stranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or enemy. When Procopius first landed he admired the populousness of the cities and country strenuously exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a vast solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed that five millions of Africans were consumed by the wars and government of the Emperor Justinian." When the warriors of Islam appeared, the slender thread which connected Africa with Europe had been snapped asunder; the Governor of the Province had assumed the rank and title of an independent Sovereign; the Berbers issuing from the mountains spread at will over the open country; and the Arab chroniclers speak with amazement of the many ruined cities their armies passed in their march through the province.

The first expedition of the Arabs was made A.H. 27 (A.D. 647-8.) Othman was at that time Caliph, and had entrusted the Government of Egypt to his brother Abdallah. Abdallah sent parties of horsemen

into Afrikia to report upon the country, and the accounts they brought back of its wealth and fertility determined Othman to undertake a regular invasion. The Caliph furnished from his private funds a thousand camels for the use of the poorer soldiery, as well as horses and arms, and bestowed a gratuity upon each soldier enrolled in the expedition. The army was composed of detachments from several Arab tribes, and these, on arrival in Eygpt, were further strengthened until they reached a total of twenty thousand men. Abdallah, the Governor of Eygpt, took command of the whole. He marched swiftly across the desert of Barca, left the walled cities of Tripoli and Cabes unassailed in his rear, and attacked the Byzantine Prefect Gregorius, in a plain, twenty-four hours' journey from Carthage—"a vast city" says the *Arabian Chronicler*, "enclosing lofty edifices with walls of white marbles, and thronged with colonnades, and monuments of various colours in immense numbers." The Greek army was completely defeated and Gregorius slain. The payment of an immense sum of money, however, succeeded for a time in inducing the Arabs to withdraw to Eygpt. But the interval of peace was a short one. The rapacity of the Greek Government drove the Berbers into rebellion; they invited the Arabs to come to their assistance; an invitation eagerly responded to. It is impossible to follow the incidents of the war in the confused and rambling accounts of the Arab historians, but it seems that by A.H. 55 (A.D. 675) the Arab rule was firmly established in Afrikia proper. The Governor was the celebrated Okba, and he had built a city—Cairoan—as a point of support from which to push into the interior of the country. The Greeks still occupied Magreb, and had collected an immense number of Berbers as auxiliaries to their regular troops. In that year Okba, at the head of a large army, crossed the boundary line of Afrikia and entered Magreb; the open towns surrendered as he approached: the Greeks and Berbers hung about the flanks of his army, and tried to impede his advance, but he made his way by dint of hard fighting through all obstacles until he reached the furthest coast of Africa, and beheld before him the tumbling billows of the Atlantic. Spurring his horse into the waves until the water reached his chest, he raised his hand to heaven and exclaimed "Oh! God! but for this sea I would have gone into still remoter countries, like unto Zul-karnein, fighting for thy religion, and slaying such as believe in other gods than Thee!" *

* Okba here alludes to the following passage in the seventh Sura of the Koran, entitled "The Cave." Zul-karnein, it must be premised, is supposed by the majority of commentators to be Alexander the

Great. "The Jews will ask Thee concerning Zul-karnein. Answer, I will rehearse unto you an account of him. We made him powerful in the earth and we gave him means to accomplish every thing he pleased,

This triumphant advance of Okba had the effect of stilling the turbulent Berbers into a panic-stricken quiescence; they not only hastened in crowds to tender their submission, but declared themselves believers in the one God, and followers of the Prophet. The land had rest for a brief space. Okba himself was the means of arousing the storm again. He wantonly and grossly insulted Koseila, a leading Berber chieftain. At his summons the clans resumed the weapons they had so lately laid aside, and a countless host swept down from all the valleys of the Atlas, on the handful of Arabs that garrisoned Cairoan. Okba disdained to endure a seige. He broke the scabbard of his sword in token of his resolution to conquer or die, and leading out his small force charged, into the centre of the Berbers who encompassed his capital. He fell fighting desperately; only a very few of the Arabs effected a retreat into Egypt; Koseila took possession of Cairoan, and the domination of the Moslems appeared to be at an end. But the Caliph Abdalmalek, no sooner heard of the heroic death of Okba than he resolved to avenge him. A.H. 69, (A.D. 619-9) Zobeir entered Afrikia with another army larger and better equipped than the one which had been destroyed with Okba. Koseila abandoned Cairoan at his approach, falling back in order to give the Berbers time to leave their mountain homes, and rally round him. The Arabs followed closely and according to their own account made immense havoc amid the retreating mountaineers. But their success was short lived. Zobeir had not advanced far when he heard that a Greek army, encouraged by the late expulsion of the Arabs, had appeared upon the coast of Barca. He hastily retraced his steps, rashly attacked these new invaders with very inferior forces, and he and his troops were cut off almost to a man. Africa had once again cast out the Muhammadan invader. But the Caliph was not to be baffled. A third army made good its footing upon the hardly contested soil. This was in the year 74. This army—forty thousand strong, and commanded by Hassan-ibn-Nooman—for awhile carried all before it. Cairoan was recaptured: the city of Carthage stormed and pillaged, and the Greeks and Berbers defeated in a great battle in the open field. The remnant of the Greek

and he followed his way until he came to the place where the sun setteth; and he found it to set in a spring of black mud, and he found near the same a certain people. And we said, Oh! Zul-karnein! either punish this people or use gentleness towards them. He answered whosoever of them shall commit injustice we will surely punish him in this world: afterwards shall

he return unto his Lord, and He shall punish him with a severe punishment." For the rest of Zul-karnein's adventures, and how he prevented Gog and Magog from ravaging the earth by means of a wall composed of "iron, red hot as fire," and "molten brass," so that they "could not scale it, neither could they dig through it,"—*vide* Sale's Koran, p. 246-7.

army hastily abandoned the country; the Arab was once more supreme. But the Berbers were still far from having been subdued. Koseila had died, but his vast influence had passed undiminished to a woman—*Elkahina* or the Diviner as she was called—who was supposed to have the gift of prediction, and was regarded as more than human by her countrymen. She descended at the head of an immense force from the heights of Mount Auress, defeated the Arabs with great slaughter, and compelled them for the third time to relinquish their hardly gotten prize. But the Arabs only retreated to re-appear in greater numbers. The Sibyl was defeated in a pitched battle, and slain as she attempted to fly. The Berbers exhausted by the indomitable perseverance of Arab enthusiasm, at length sued for peace. They obtained it on the condition of furnishing a contingent of twelve thousand men to aid in the invasion of Spain. "From this time," says the *Chronicler*, "Islam spread itself among the Berbers;" but the change of faith brought no change of character. They remained as much enamoured as ever of their savage independence; they hated their Arab master even more profoundly now that he had his foot upon their neck, than when on equal terms they confronted him in the field of battle. They waited only for an opportunity to assume their old attitude of active hostility. The opportunity was not long in coming. It was furnished by the appearance of a new party in Africa—the sect of the Separatists. These men had originally been followers of Ali, but when he consented to refer his rights and those of Moawia to the decision of arbitrators, they broke away from him and set up on their own account. They declared that in a matter of this kind there could be no arbiter but God, and no mode of arbitration but the bloody decision of the battle field. They held in fact, the old mediæval notion of wager by battle. They scornfully rejected all Ali's offers of conciliation, and a body of twenty-five thousand men appeared in arms against him. Four thousand of these he cut to pieces, but the sect continued to increase in numbers, and it was only after infinite fighting and cruelty and blood shedding, that they were gradually driven out of Irack, some into Haa, others through Egypt into Afrikia and Magreb. These Separatists—known in Afrikia, as Safrites,—rejected the authority of all Caliphs indifferently; they themselves were the only true Muhammadans; all others were heretics, and as such worthy of death. To slay such was the true Holy War (*Jehad*) and whoever refused to join in this pious work, became *ipso facto* a heretic himself, who was to be slaughtered wherever he was met with, and his wife and children sold into slavery.

These were the precise leaders the Berbers were in need of.

Hitherto they had always commenced one of their fierce outbreaks with a general renunciation of the Muhammadan faith and a return to the unknown worship of their native hills. But their uniform ill success had generated the belief that this Arabian God was stronger far than any they worshipped—that they must have Him on their side if they hoped for success. The Separatists seemed to have brought this secret with them. The Berbers hated the government that was over them—the Berbers deemed that these Arab rulers were an accursed race fit only to be devoured by the sword ; and now these Sectaries came among them with the tidings that such feelings and such acts were exactly those most grateful to the Deity they wished to have upon their side. They found themselves, in a moment, converted into the true believers, and their Arab conquerors, into the out-castes and heretics. The Separatist leaders, who had been hunted like partridges upon the hills, found themselves all at once the leaders of formidable hosts. Afrikia and Magreb became a scene of tumult and blood shedding ; until in the year 124 (A.D. 742) the troubles culminated in a terrible outbreak.

Two large armies came down from the hills to make a joint attack upon Cairoan. But the Arab Governor Hanzala, a man who combined all the religious enthusiasm of the Muhammadan, with a gentleness of heart unwonted in that savage age ; was more than equal to the emergency. He sallied forth from the city and assailing one of the two armies—that commanded by Okasa the Safrite,—before it could effect a junction with the other, utterly defeated it. He then fell back on Cairoan to repel the second army. But the force he sent out to stay its advance, after great deal of hard fighting which extended over a month, was driven back upon Cairoan with heavy loss. Okasa in the meanwhile had recovered from his defeat, and the two hosts beleaguered the devoted city. The *Chroniclers* with the usual exaggeration of the Oriental, number them at three hundred thousand men. Hanzala, however, was not dismayed. He drew out of the magazines all the arms stored up in them, and made an appeal to the inhabitants, giving to each person that enlisted a complete suit of armour, and fifty *dinars*. This attracted so many volunteers to his ranks that he diminished his gratuity first to forty and then to thirty *dinars*, rejecting all recruits, but the young and vigorous. It was a crisis never to be forgotten by those who with beating hearts and straining eyes watched till the torches of the night had burned out and jocund day stood tiptoe on the misty mountain tops. All round the city the twinkle of innumerable watchfires marked out the lines of the beleaguering host. Within, in the great square in front of the mosque, the glare of the lights showed Hanzala and his chief officers engaged hour after hour in the

arrangement and distribution of the recruits for the morrow's battle. It was for all a question of life and death. A Berber victory would instantly convert the city into a shambles, where men, women and children would be slain indiscriminately. At the break of day the besieged troops broke, every man his scabbard—the usual Arab symbol that death or victory were the only possible alternatives—and marched forth to engage the enemy. There was a terrible struggle, but the courage of despair proved at the last stronger than the force of numbers. The vast Berber host broke and fled; their own numbers encumbered their flight, and rendered impossible the preservation of any sort of order. The victorious Arabs pressed their rear and slew them by thousands. Eighty-thousand in all are said to have perished. This of course is a wild exaggeration. The statistics of oriental histories are simply worthless; but there can be no doubt that whether the loss was great or small, the victory wrought a marvellous and un hoped for deliverance. It was accounted one of the "great days" of the Arabs. "After the battle of Beder," said a warrior of that time who was not present, "I should wish to have fought in the battle in front of Cairoan."

We need not pursue the story any further. Oriental history is full of such exciting scenes, and yet at the same time almost wholly destitute of interest. The reason of this is not far to seek. There is there, no increasing purpose running through the ages, and the thoughts of men are narrowed instead of widened "by the process of the suns." All the elements of greatness exist in it—heroism, endurance, zeal, self-sacrifice—but applied to purposes either selfish or utterly useless, they work no deliverance upon the earth. We find ourselves treading for ever in the same weary mill round of battles and sieges with no other purpose than that of plunder, until, as in Muhammadan countries at present, total inward corruption supervenes upon exhaustion. The above particulars were needful to show the precarious and uncertain foundations of Arab rule in Northern Africa, and the sudden and frequent revolutions of power. When the Abbasides drove out the house of Ommeya and usurped the Caliphate, fresh elements of discord were necessarily poured into this wretched country. New leaders appeared with new claims who were sure of support, if not in one tribe then in another. Shortly after the weakness of the Caliphs, the presence of enemies nearer Bagdad, led to the virtual severance of the North of Africa from the rest of the Empire. The country was broken up into small states, the internal relations of which were in a state of continual flux. At the time when the story of "the Assassins" mingles with the stream of African politics, Afrikia and Magreb were divided between two dynasties, the Edrisites and the Aglabites.

The family of the Abbasides—who had no shadow of right to the dignity of the Caliphate—attained to that dignity by a combination of cruelty and treachery. They obtained the co-operation of the followers of Ali by the pretence that it was for the sake of his family that they had taken up arms against the house of Ommeya, and they displayed themselves in their true character only when the barbarous massacre of the Ommeyas, at a banquet at Damascus, seemed to give them sufficient strength to do so. This declaration, however, was the signal for a series of desperate revolts headed by different members of the family of Ali. Among these leaders was one Muhammad the great grandson of the martyr Hoosain. The whole of the Hejaz, including the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, recognised him as the legitimate Caliph. He had six brothers, whom he sent forth through all the countries of Islam as missionaries to win adherents to him. One of these, by name Suleiman, after many years of wandering in Egypt and Soudan (the land of the negroes) finally settled at Telemsan in Magreb. He was the father of a numerous family of sons, and these, in their turn, carried on the work of their father, and preached the duty of obedience to the house of Ali through Northern Africa. In the meanwhile (A.H. 169) the Imam Muhammad had been slain with the greater part of his family in a battle near Mecca, fought during the Caliphate of Mahdi; one brother, however, by name Edris, contrived to make his way into Magreb. He found the people well-prepared to receive him, and he speedily rose to the position of a Sovereign with Telemsen as his capital and the tribes of Zenata as his devoted subjects. The dynasty continued to grow and prosper, and at the time when we take up the thread of African History (A.H. 357), Yahia, the eighth prince from Edris, was seated on the throne, with the celebrated city of Fez as his capital.

The Aglabites had their capital at Rekada in Central Magreb. They had originally entered Africa in the train of the representative of the Bagdad Caliph; their courage and sagacity had gradually raised them to the rank of Governors, which the growing weakness of the Caliphs enabled them without much difficulty to turn into an hereditary possession. They were virtually independent though still proffering a nominal allegiance to the ruler of Bagdad. Zyadet Ally—the last Prince of this dynasty, was the Sovereign in Rekada, when our narrative commences.

In the paper preceding this we gave an account of the events which led to the great schism of Islam into the two parties of Sunni and Shia, and the bitter and implacable enmity thereby engendered. The followers of Ali again sub-divided into various sects, but the principal among these was the one great party, still predominant in Persia—the Believers in the Imam. Even this ranged itself

under two heads—the *twelvers*, so named because they make the series of the revealed Imams—*i.e.*, the lineal descendants of Ali and Fatima—terminate with Muhammad-ibn-Askeri, who was the twelfth. Of him, they believe that he disappeared in a subterranean spring not far from Bagdad, and that he will remain invisible until the end of the world, when he is to re-appear with the Prophet Elias, at the second coming of Jesus Christ, and become one of the two witnesses spoken of in the Apocalypse. The *seveners*, so called because they only reckon seven Imams, of whom the last is known as Ismail; and hence also their other name of *Ismailiens*. This Ismail was the son Djafar Sadik, who died A.H. 148; the birth of the sect therefore cannot ascend to a more remote point of antiquity. It is, however, more probable, that their doctrines did not assume a definite shape until after the death of Ismail, as his son Muhammad is regarded by the majority of the *Ismailiens* as the same Imam as his father; and it is in the person of this Muhammad that the dignity of Imam resides for ever. Since his disappearance all those who have been the leaders of the *Ismailiens* have been only his lieutenants. The expectation of his advent is the most essential part of the system. In his name and under his authority all business is transacted, and every convert is enrolled into the service of Muhammad to be ready to follow and obey him whenever he appears. The Fatimite Caliphs and—nourished under their protection,—the sect of the "Assassins," were followers of this doctrine, with, however, this important modification—that the expected Imam Muhammad or the *Mehdi*, as he was also called, had reappeared and was incarnate in each successive Fatimite Caliph.

Toward the close of the third century of the Hejira, the living representative of the *Ismailien* Imam was one Muhammad who died A.H. 270, leaving his rights to his son Obeidollah. Among the most zealous and successful missionaries of this persuasion, was a certain Ibn Hauscheb, originally a believer in the twelve Imams, who had been converted in a sudden and mysterious manner to a recognition of the rights resident in the family of Ismail. He resided in Yemen, and he and his subordinates had spread their faith through all that country, and had penetrated even to Magreb, where the Berber tribe of Ketama had been won over. Amongst these missionaries was one known in Arabian History as Abou Abdallah the Shiite, a man deeply versed in all the learning of that age, exceedingly subtle and wise in the formation of his plans; as bold and adroit in his execution of them, and possessed of a singular power of fascination over all inferior minds that came in contact with him. It so happened that a few years before the close of the third century the missionaries resident in Africa died, and Ibn Hauscheb selected this Abou Abdallah as their successor

He accordingly left Yemen and repaired to Mecca. It was the season of the pilgrimage, and he at once took up his residence in that quarter of the city occupied by the pilgrims of Ketama. Without revealing his character of missionary he contrived to insinuate himself into their confidence and friendship. The pilgrims were charmed by the fascination of his conversation, and awed by his piety and spiritual detachment from the world. He, for his part, gradually extracted from them all they had to tell respecting Northern Africa; the different tribes who resided there, their religious proclivities, and the amount of authority that appertained to the representative of the Bagdad Caliphs. In the end nothing would content the Ketama pilgrims short of Abu Abdallah returning with them to Africa and taking up his abode with them, and he, secretly rejoicing, consented. He found the Ketamiens zealous for Ali and the Ismailiens. There he declared his true mission as the man who was sent before to prepare the way for the coming of the Mehdi. The Ketamiens eagerly gathered round him; he was soon at the head of a formidable force, which defeated the Aglabite troops in an encounter in the open field. The Mehdi, he now declared, was at hand, and would enter upon his inheritance, and happy, he added, will be those who shall abandon country and friends for his sake. He spoke at length of the marvels which should accompany his coming, and the victories and splendor which God had in store for him. Then he despatched some messengers to inform Obeidollah of the situation, and that nothing now was wanting to success but his own appearance upon the scene of action. Obeidollah was at this time at Edessa. He set out at once secretly, but the Caliph Moctafi sent intelligence of his designs to Ziadet Ali, the reigning Aglabite, and Obeidollah was seized and placed in close confinement in Sedjelmessa—a city on the borders of the great desert. But Abu Abdallah was now a powerful captain. He assaulted and took Sedjelmessa, and liberating Obeidollah, presented him to the troops as the expected Mehdi. Ziadet Ali, a weak and cowardly sovereign, fled panic-stricken to Egypt, abandoning his hereditary possessions, and Obeidollah was crowned at Rekada at the close of the second Rebi, A.H. 297. Fez—the capital of the Edrissite dynasty—was then besieged, and Yahia only purchased a temporary relief by consenting to hold his dominions as a fief of the Fatimite Sovereigns. Such was the origin of the Fatimite Caliphs of Africa and Egypt—so called from their descent—real or pretended—from Ali, and Fatima the daughter of the Prophet.*

* Their claim to this honour is one probable conclusion, but there is no of the most hotly disputed questions in Arabian History. We have trustworthy evidence on the one side assumed its validity as the most or the other. No demonstration would have been clear enough to

Obeidollah's first care, in true oriental fashion, was to destroy the ladder by which he had ascended to his present elevation. Abu Abdallah was arrested on a charge of treason against the Sovereign he had just raised from the dust, and swiftly decapitated. The new monarch breathed more freely, as soon as his powerful subject was no more; but he was too well acquainted with the shifting and changeable character of African politics to suppose that his present supremacy would long remain unquestioned. The tribe of Ketama alone acknowledged him as their legitimate ruler. The rest of the Berbers were separatists almost to a man, and only stunned for a time into acquiescence by the military abilities of the man he had just put to death. He determined to build a city; so strongly fortified by nature and art, that even should his partisans be driven from the open country they might find there an impregnable rallying point. He built in consequence a city on the sea coast, called after himself as the Medhi,—Medhia. It rose, a superb city of white marble palaces, built upon a slip of land jutting out into the sea, and connected, says Abul Fâda, with the mainland, as the hand is joined to the arm. The wisdom of this proceeding was soon made apparent. Obeidollah, indeed, brought a long reign to a prosperous conclusion, but the storm burst in fury over his son and successor, Abul Muhammad Elkaiem. A separatist fanatic Abu Yazid, a man sixty years of age, and worn down with disease and infirmities had contrived to convince the Berbers of Mount Aures, that he was a Prophet sent by God to sweep the Fatimite Caliphs out of the land. In the year 332 (A.D. 943-44) they burst from their mountain fastnesses and swept like a destroying deluge over the plains. The Fatimite troops were defeated again and again. City after city was taken by storm, and became a scene of the most frightful atrocities. The empire of Elkaiem fell to pieces with even greater rapidity than it had been constructed. The Caliph was shut up in his capital and closely besieged. But here the success of Abu Yazid terminated. The siege was still progressing when Elkaiem died, and his son Ismail-el-Mansour—a young man of rare energy and courage—mounted the vacant throne. Step by step under his conduct, the fierce Sectaries were driven back to their mountain homes. The leaders who fell into his hands were flayed alive, and their skins stuffed with straw, and nailed to crosses in the sight of the army; the rank and file were

convince the partisans of either side that their opponents were in the right, and consequently, the testimony in the matter of either Shia or Sunni is altogether worthless.

Still one of the two sides must have been correct, and we incline to believe the Fatimite Caliphs were actually what they declared themselves to be lineal descendants of Ali and Fatima.

either roasted to death over slow fires ; or their hands and feet were cut off, and the mutilated but still breathing bodies, fastened to crosses to linger out the painful remains of life. These atrocities obtained for the ruthless young Prince, the name of "the Flayer."—They had, however, the effect of causing the followers of Abu Yazid to change sides with the swiftest rapidity ; and all such tenders of submission were cordially accepted by Ismail. Abu Yazid fled to Djebal Selat, a precipitous and inaccessible rock rising from a parched desert, which needed eleven days to traverse. Ismail plunged boldly into this sandy solitude, but his soldiers perished of thirst ; his horses and beasts of burden died from want of forage, and he extricated himself only with immense difficulty and severe loss. It was after four years fighting (A.H. 336, A.D. 947-48) that the Sectary and his followers were at last cooped up in the mountain of Kiana, with every passage of escape barred up by the armies of the Caliph. The struggle round this last position was severe and protracted. At length, seeing his troops diminishing every day in numbers, Abu Yazid issued from his intrenchments, in a desperate effort to cut his way through the beseigers. His followers were mostly cut to pieces, and he fell covered with wounds upon the field of battle and was made prisoner. He died that same night, but his body stuffed with straw was carried in solemn procession from city to city. Notwithstanding the death of this formidable heretic, the crisis was far from past. "The wind was down but still the waves ran high," and the existence of the Fatimite Caliphate was yet doubtful when Ismail died, A.H. 339 (A.D. 950-51) or as some say A.H. 341.

Ismail was succeeded by his son, known in history under the title of Moezz-li-din-Allah. Among the freedmen of this prince was a certain Greek slave, by name Djauher. He had been a favourite of Ismail who had him carefully educated under his own eye ; Moezz regarded him with even greater partiality ; he passed him rapidly through all the inferior grades, and finally raised him to the rank of Vizier, and generalissimo of the kingdom. In this last capacity, the task of completing the work of pacification which the preceding Caliph had left incomplete was entrusted to him. This he accomplished with equal skill and success ; and Moezz-li-din-Allah found himself the undisputed monarch of all Northern Africa, from the shores of the Atlantic to the confines of Egypt. But it is not in the nature of an Eastern despot to be content with the widest dominions so long as there is a possibility to acquire any more, and having extended his possessions as far as the frontiers of Egypt, Moezz, as a matter of course, wished to absorb that fertile province also. Egypt, like the other provinces of Islam, had become virtually independent of Bagdad,

and it was at this time ruled by a hump-backed African eunuch, Kafour, who had raised himself from the position of a slave to his present eminence. This man had shown himself equally great as a soldier and a statesman, but he was now well stricken in years, and Moezz deemed it his wisest policy to defer the execution of his plans of conquest until after Kafour's death. This occurred A.H. 357: and the province at once fell into a state of the utmost confusion. The Turkish soldiers mutinied, and under the pretence of arrears of pay, demanded immense sums of money. As these were not paid up immediately, they pillaged the palace of the Vizier, and the houses of his principal friends; while some of them sent messages to Moezz entreating him to assume possession of the province, and engaging to assist him with all their power. To crown all, one of those terrible and desolating famines, peculiar to Egypt, descended upon the province. There are, in the Arabic chronicles, several such visitations recorded; and the terrible sufferings and fearful mortality were such as to be well-nigh incredible. "The river," says Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Egypt, about a century after this time, "overflows once every year, in the month of Elul (August), and inundating the whole country, irrigates it to the extent of fifteen days' journey. The water remains standing on the land during that and the following month, whereby it is moistened and made fit for agriculture. A marble pillar constructed with great skill has been erected in front of an island; twelve yards of this pillar protrude above the level of the river; and whenever the water rises to a height sufficient to cover the pillar, people know that it has inundated the whole land of Egypt to the extent of fifteen days' journey; whereas if one-half only of the pillar be covered, it shows that one-half of the country is yet dry. A certain officer measures the rise of the river every day and makes proclamation in Zoan and in Mizraim in these words, 'Praise God, for the river has risen so and so much.' The measurement and the proclamation is repeated every day. Whenever the water submerges the whole pillar, it produces great plenty in the whole land of Egypt. Whenever the overflowing of the Nile is suspended, they can neither sow nor reap, and the famine is sore in the land." Then, to quote the figure of Abdul Latif describing one of these terrible seasons of dearth, the year presented itself as a monster whose wrath must annihilate all the resources of life and all the means of subsistence. All who could, fled the devoted country. The poor ate carrion, corpses, dogs, even little children. The traveller would pass through towns and villages tenanted only by the corpses of its dead. Those guilty of the crime of cannibalism were burned to death, but in the extremities of hunger, the very executioners have been known

to tear fragments from the roasted flesh and devour them. It is needless to say that at such a time all the bonds of order must have been unloosed. Civil government was in fact at an end. Bands of kidnappers infested Cairo and the principal cities, who caught passengers by means of hooks let down from upper windows, when they were murdered for their wealth, and not unfrequently as food.

No conjuncture of circumstances could have been more favourable to the designs of Moezz, and he lost no time in acting upon the requests of the mutinous Turkish militia. The invading army was placed under the command of Djauher, and the expedition set forth from Cairo on Saturday 14th, of the first Rebi, A.H. 356. The Caliph had spared no labour or expense to ensure success. Each separate soldier received a gratuity in addition to his pay, and an immense treasure, and abundant munitions of war followed the army. On the day of departure, the Caliph, attended by his chief officers, rode to the camp to bid adieu to Djauher. After some conversation, he ordered Djauher to remount his horse, and then caused his sons, even the heir presumptive, his brothers, and the *emirs* of his court to dismount and pass on foot before the departing general, as the highest mark of honour and confidence he could confer upon him. On returning to his palace, the monarch sent to Djauher his robe and all his apparel, with the exception of his ring, to signify that he was in every respect the representative of his sovereign, and the temporary possessor of the same unquestioned authority. He wrote, moreover, to every city on the line of march, ordering the Governors to receive Djauher with the same honours usually paid to himself; and caused a number of vessels to be laden with grain and provisions for the relief of the distress in Egypt. These were to sail along the sea-coast, regulating their movements by those of the army.

The inhabitants of Fostât—the ancient capital of Egypt—were terror-stricken at the tidings of this invasion. They sent messengers to Djauher, before he had crossed the frontier into Egypt, to treat for the surrender of the capital, and to preserve it from pillage. Djauher conceded all their demands, and advanced toward the city. But Fostât in the meantime was a scene of dissension. The partisans of the former dynasty, and a part of the Turkish militia, renouncing their pacific intentions, determined to oppose the entrance of Djauher. A citizen of Bagdad, and consequently a servant of the Abbaside Caliph, and a bitter enemy of the Fatimites, rising up in the mosque just before the Friday prayers, cried aloud—"Oh! men of Islam, you have given yourselves over to the man who plundered Fez and reduced its people to slavery." Then he passed in review all the evils that Djauher had inflicted upon the people of Northern Africa; and

adjured them to drive out from among them those evil counsellors whose pusillanimous advice had brought them to their present evil strait. This discourse made a lively impression upon the fickle multitude. They were now for fighting to the death. All the points of approach to the city were occupied in force. But this newly-born valour proved to be only of the Bob Acres' kind, and oozed away rapidly as Djauher approached. An insignificant skirmish placed him in possession of the city. He refrained from plundering it, and caused proclamation to be made that he would adhere to the terms of the original treaty. This calmed the fears of the people; the shops remained open, and business went on as usual; and the only incident out of the ordinary was, that the exuberant gratitude of the inhabitants caused them to murder the leaders of the war party and present their heads to Djauher.

On 18th Ramadan Djauher made his triumphal entry into Fostât, with banners borne before him and trumpets sounding; he himself was clothed in a silken robe brodered with gold, and mounted upon a superb charger caparisoned in the finest cloths of Egypt. He established his camp on the site of modern Cairo, and proceeded at once to trace out the *enceinte* of the new city and to lay the foundations of the Caliph's palace. He decreed the abolition, throughout Egypt, of all forms or ceremonies which might recall the domination of the Abbasides. He removed their names out of the public prayers, and called in the coin stamped with their superscription. He forbade the wearing of black—the colour of their family—and ordered that all preachers should be clothed in white, and should repeat this formula at the public prayers: "Oh God! shed thy blessings upon thy chosen servant Muhammad; upon Ali the object of thy affection; upon Fatima the virgin; upon Hasan and Hoosain the grandsons of the prophet whom Thou hast purified and preserved from all taint of sin; and, Oh! my God! upon the Imams, the progenitors of the Chief of Believers, Moezz-li-din-Allah."

But the power of the Fatimite Caliphs was still far from being established. They were surrounded with implacable enemies. The adherents of the Abbasides—divided though they might be on minor points—were quite at one in regarding this new heretical dynasty as the very abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not. The "twelvers"—the true servants of Ali as they held themselves to be—viewed with the deepest disgust and indignation the dominion which belonged to them handed over to another, by the inexplicable caprice of Destiny. The Carmathians were still at the height of their power. They had laid Egypt under tribute. The weakness of the government there had enabled them to make with impunity the terrible raid upon Mecca described in our last

paper. The apparition of a power, still in its youthful vigour, and backed up by all the resources in men and money of Northern Africa, was like the first warning note of their hour of doom.

Insurrections soon broke out in half-a-dozen different parts of Egypt. Rebellion, hydra-headed, was destroyed in one place, only to spring up in another. But Djauher was a man of surpassing energy, promptitude, and military skill. He seems also to have been gifted with rare discernment in the selection of fitting instruments to execute his plans. Egypt was quieted by a series of rapid and crushing blows; Syria was invaded and that province added to the dominions of Moezz. But a more formidable enemy was at hand. Hassan-ibn-Ahmed, the Carmathian ruler, had had the amazing effrontery to solicit the co-operation of the Bagdad Caliph Moti to destroy the Fatimites. The Caliph rejected the proposal with indignation, declaring the Carmathian and the Fatimite to be, one as bad as the other; but Hassan not discouraged, determined to make the attempt alone. Gathering together a large army, which was further recruited by the relics of the Egyptian insurrections, he advanced against Damascus. For awhile the Carmathian carried all before him. After a brilliant victory the gates of Damascus were thrown open to him, and he advanced towards Ramlah. Djauher, in the meanwhile, had despatched a force into Syria to support the troops already there. But before its arrival, these troops had been cut to pieces in the battle before Damascus, and the reinforcement was compelled to seek shelter in Jaffa, and were closely besieged. Leaving a detachment to maintain the blockade, Hassan marched against Fostât. Djauher was awaiting him. He had encircled the capital with a deep trench; arms had been distributed to the populace, and spies were sent out in all directions to bring the earliest intelligence of the approach of the enemy. On Friday the first day of the first Rebi, A.H. 361, the Carmathians came in sight. The battle raged for two whole days, when the Carmathians were defeated with prodigious slaughter. They fled abandoning their camp, their provisions, and all their treasure. They had never received such a crushing blow. It confirmed the power of the Fatimites beyond the fear of overthrow; and Moezz, after much hesitation, determined upon coming in person to take possession of his new province. He made his entry into Fostât on the 7th Ramadan, A.H. 362, accompanied by his brothers and his children, and all the descendants of the Mehdi Obeidollah. On the 15th of the same month, the Caliph, seated on a throne of gold, received the most distinguished men of the province. Djauher presented them in the order of their precedence. Lastly he came forward himself to offer the presents he had prepared in honour of his master's arrival. These were, 1,—one hundred and

fifty horses with saddles of gold, and bridles studded with precious stones, and inlaid with amber. 2.—Thirty-one silken pavilions borne upon as many Bactrian camels. 3.—Nine riding camels covered with cloth of gold. 4.—Thirty-three mules, seven of which were equipped with saddles and bridles. 5.—One hundred and thirty baggage mules. 6.—Ninety Dromedaries. 7.—Four open caskets containing gold and silver vessels. 8.—One hundred swords enriched with gold and silver. 9.—Two silver caskets filled with precious stones. 10.—A turban studded with gems. 11.—Nine hundred boxes containing an assortment of the most precious objects to be found in Egypt.

We trust we have not entirely exhausted the patience of our readers. We have been tempted into details—perhaps unwarrantable—because, so far as we know, there exists no English account of this most important episode in the history of Islam. To the weakness occasioned in the empire of the Seljukides, by the rising of this new power quite as much as to the Crusades, we owe the preservation of Constantinople, and the time thereby gained, for that consolidation of the European nationalities, which enabled the West to roll back the tide of Muhammadan invasion, when at last the empire of Byzantium succumbed to Othman and his Turks. Hitherto the heretic Shia had been hunted from place to place a mere Ishmaelite, whose hand was against every man, as every man's hand was against him. He had, it is true, broken out again and again into fierce and bloody insurrections, but all such movements were isolated, detached acts of rebellion,—returns to anarchy which all men who had anything to lose, were glad to repress or to see repressed in the promptest and sternest manner. Now they took the field as subjects of a powerful sovereign. The Fatimite Caliphs moreover organised a vast army of missionaries for the secret propagation of their tenets through all Asia. A college was built in Cairo for the regular education of these propagandists. This was named "The Hall of the Sciences." A large sum of money was annually set aside for the payment of the professors and other officials. At the head of the whole establishment was an official known as the chief *Dai* or missionary. This office was hereditary, and descended from father to son, and its duties were manifold. The incumbent had to be thoroughly learned in all the doctrines regarding the descendants of the Prophets, and to give instruction in them. He received all subscriptions for the propagation of the Faith. He held regular assemblies in the Palace for the exposition of doctrines of the sect. These were designated "Conferences of wisdom:" one special sitting was for the *Devoted* or *Initiated*; another for the officers of the court; a third for the general public and chance visitors to the city; a fourth was held in the grand

mosque of Cairo for women; and a fifth in the palace for the benefit of the ladies and female slaves resident in the Harem.*

Admission into the body of the Fatimites was gradual; the neophyte having to pass through nine successive grades of initiation. We have already stated that the difference between the Ismailiens and the other followers of Ali was, that they only acknowledged seven revealed Imams; while the others increased the number to twelve. The difference is said to have arisen in this way. Djafar Sadik—the sixth Imam—had four sons, the eldest of whom was Ismail, whom also he designated as his successor. One day, however, Ismail had the misfortune to be discovered in a state of inebriety, and Djafar Sadik disinherited him, declaring that he could not be his son, but a demon who had assumed his similitude. His second son Mousa was then declared to be his successor to the dignity of the Imam. The majority of the believers in the Imam accepted this decision, and on the death of Djafar Sadik transferred their allegiance to Mousa. But a small portion who held all the positive prohibitions of the Koran to be only allegories, remained attached to Ismail, and on his death to his son Muhammad. In their eyes the inebriety of Ismail was a virtue rather than otherwise, as a positive proof of his acceptance of an inner and hidden meaning in the precepts of religion. Between the disappearance of Muhammad, and the dynasty of the Fatimites, seven lieutenants or representatives of the Imams succeeded each other. These are styled the concealed Imams, because they had to conceal themselves

* Silvestre de Sacy gives the following extract from one of these discourses. The speaker wishing to prove to an audience of women that it did not suffice to know God and the doctrine of the Unity without a knowledge also of the Imam and his ministers proceeds as follows:—"If any one among you says 'I have acknowledged the unity of God; I have never failed to make this confession of faith, and I can have no need of a Mediator,' the perception of the truth is hidden from that woman. Have you not heard in the conferences of wisdom that which has been spoken of a *torch*, which in its perfect state represents the religion of Unity, but which ceases to be a torch as soon as its several parts are divided from each other. Then the wax by itself is called 'the wax;' the wick 'the wick;' the flame 'the flame;' the chandelier 'the chandelier;' but

when all are united—the wax, the wick, the flame and the chandelier—these together constitute the complete torch. Know then, oh! female believers in the Unity! why this parable has been set before you. It is in order that you may know you cannot attain to a right apprehension of the religion of Unity unless you include in that apprehension all the ministers of that religion. Has it not been declared to you in these conferences that the Koran is a living being? When its chapters, its grand divisions in ten and in five parts, and its verses are all combined into one, then the Koran is complete; but when its chapters are divided and parted one from another, no one would call that a complete Koran. When entire it is the symbol or representative of the Imam, and men call it the 'Word of God.'"

from the persecution of the Caliphs. It is to the fourth of these concealed Imams, who lived about the middle of the third century after the Hijira, that the system is attributed of initiation by degrees. To understand this and its power over the mind we must try to gain some perception of the mental condition of the people of that time.

The great endeavour of what considers itself as pre-eminently "Modern Thought" is to get rid of the supernatural altogether; and we have so hoodwinked ourselves with phrases about "Nature" that many suppose this to have been done, and rank the achievement among the greatest of the nineteenth century. But the Physicists are, in truth, still very far from having the dominion of existence to themselves. The supernatural is blended indissolubly with the stream of our ordinary life. Any one who puts forth his hand or foot, to check a rolling stone, puts forth a *supernatural* power which counteracts a natural one—the action of gravity—*supernatural* we say in the most literal meaning of the term, because it acts under no compulsion, is self-originated, and may be put forth or withheld at pleasure. In like manner, every triumph of man over nature, from the time when the first savage fashioned his spear of flint, to these days of Atlantic cables, and locomotion by steam, are a series of victories won by supernatural power over the forces of nature. All the marvels of painting, architecture, sculpture and poetry, all the refinements of civilisation are the results of this supernatural power, compelling nature to obey its behests, and give expression to its thought. So long as Man exists, the supernatural cannot be excluded from this visible universe. That which Modern Science has done for us, is not to remove the supernatural out of the universe, but to evoke order out of seeming anarchy. Her torch has dispelled that huge shadow host of secondary agencies—Djins, Divs, Genii, Fairies and the like—wherewith a younger world was perplexed and tormented. And this she has done so completely, that most of us find a difficulty in conceiving how any human beings ever regarded them as credible. Still there are moments even in our lives, when we are conscious of feelings as if those old beliefs were attempting once more to force an entrance into the mind. At times of undisturbed communion with nature,—on the lonely summits of the hills, or in the deep silence of woods,

The fair humanities of old religion

The power, the beauty and the majesty

That had their haunts in dale or piny mountain,

revive again, and the world seems as in days of old, to be endowed with a conscious life. But most of all is this feeling strengthened when we are in any danger from the fury of the elements. Then we can readily apprehend how the untutored intellects

of an earlier world, should have imagined a personal agency directing the *fury* of the sea or the *pitiless* pelting of the blinding rain. And so it is, that even to this day, the men who are most prone to this—shall we say superstition—are precisely those whose lives are most exposed to moving accidents by flood and field. There has rarely been a great general, without his "lucky day" or "his star of destiny," or some other *deus ex machina* to lighten the obscure, and give hope in seasons of difficulty. Sailors have constructed quite a pantheon of lesser deities out of Mother Carey's chickens, and materials of a like kind. And there is not, in truth, a single superstition about the invisible world that haunted the regions of Islam, the counterpart of which may not be found flourishing under the patronage of the Church in any Roman Catholic country. In the times and countries of which we are writing, every influence combined to give a morbid activity to such exercises of the imagination. Science, as we understand it, had absolutely no existence, and the life of man was one long struggle with the ruthless forces of nature. In later times indeed, some of the more intelligent Arabs declared the earth to be globular, but at this period few would have dissented from the orthodox opinion that it was flat, spread out "as a bed," or "as a carpet." Round this flat earth was "the circumambient ocean," and around this again, closing in the entire universe, were "the mountains of Kaf," composed of green chrysolite, and inhabited by countless multitudes of Djins or Genii—the enemies of men. The inhabited portions of the earth, compared with the unknown regions, given up to deserts and demons, were as a tent pitched in the midst of the desert. And even here, such favoured spots as the gardens of Damascus, were but oases blooming in a vast and dreary ocean of sand. The appalling solitude, and still more appalling dangers of those sandy wastes, were the parents of innumerable superstitions. "In this world," says De Quincy, "there are two mighty forms of perfect solitude—the ocean and the desert; the wilderness of the barren sands, and the wilderness of the barren waters. Both are the parents of inevitable superstitions—of terrors, solemn, ineradicable, eternal Voices seem to blend with the roaring of the sea, which will for ever impress the feelings of beings more than human; and every chamber of the great wilderness which, with little interruption, stretches from the Euphrates to the Western shores of Africa has its own peculiar terrors both as to sights and sounds. In the wilderness of Sin, between Palestine and the Red Sea bells are heard daily pealing for matins or for vespers, from some phantom convent that no search of Christian or of Bedouin Arab has ever been able to discover. Other sounds, trumpets, the *Alala* of armies, &c., are heard in other regions of the desert.

... Forms, also, are seen of more people than have any right to be walking in human paths; sometimes forms of avowed terror, sometimes—which is a case of far more danger—appearances that mimic the shapes of men, and even of friends and comrades." The mind which has thus once fairly lost its equipoise, seems powerless to regain it. The one feeling or faculty to which it has subordinated its other capacities rules over them with absolute power. The Moslem became a slave to his imagination. The life of man was hedged round on every side with occult and malignant powers; his entire existence was dependent upon charms, amulets, the prayers of exceptionally good men, or the magic of exceptionally bad. The whole course of his history—incessant tumult but no progress, endless change without any apparent purpose—fostered this belief in a capricious Power—or rather in a host of capricious Powers—presiding over the destinies of the world. Every thing within or around him being utterly inexplicable,—being altogether a maze without a plan—there could be no degrees of credibility. Centuries of close discussion have enabled us to fix with tolerable precision the boundaries of human knowledge. But the Moslem walked the earth with all the "blank misgivings of a creature moving about in worlds not realised." What was the secret of it all; the hidden principle of life that assumed these innumerable forms? "A hair," so writes a Persian Poet of this very era:—

"A hair, they say, divides the False and True;
Yes; and a single Alif were the clue,
Could you but find it, to the Treasure House,
And, peradventure, to THE MASTER too."

The essence of the Shia doctrine, as we explained in our last paper, was devotion to the Imam. For this end, the Koran was said to have an outer sense in which it was received by the vulgar, and an inner which could be apprehended only by the spiritual few. This inner sense was in truth nothing but a negation of morality, which was swallowed up in the one duty of devotion to the Imam. The chiefs of this sect perceived plainly that men, however depraved they might be, could seldom be brought to accept such teaching all at once. Many men, too, there were, who had no wish to emancipate themselves and their fellows from all moral restraints. Different characters needed different modes of approach. It behoved the good missionary to become all things to all men, if by any means he might convert some. He discovered his doctrines bit by bit; a small number only were admitted to the innermost grade. The one doctrine common to every neophyte, was a blind and absolute obedience to the Imam, who was held to be incarnate in the person of the Fatimite Caliph. This formed the first stage in the process of initiation, and was effected in this fashion.

The *Dai* having accosted this or that man, and engaged him in a discussion upon theology, would ply him with such questions as these,—why had God created the world in seven days?—why had he thought proper to make seven heavens and seven climates—why did the first chapter of the Koran contain only seven verses—why were there twelve months in the year—what was the hidden meaning of the rites during the pilgrimage at Mecca—why was man alone upright among animals—why had he ten fingers and ten toes, no more and no less—what meaning was involved in certain enigmatic expressions to be found in the Koran—with many others too numerous to mention. In general, such questions shook the soul of the Moslem with fear and anxiety. He knew that there were marvellous powers in the mere word 'Allah' whereby men could annihilate time and space, liberate themselves from this prison-house of flesh, and traverse the realms of air, as disembodied spirits. He knew, or at least he believed, that magicians and enchanters could peer into the secrets of the heart, could make the forms of the absent appear by the power of their art, could compel beings of supernatural power to fetch and carry for them like household drudges, bought in the slave market: and that these marvels were possible mainly by the use of incantations—the mysterious power resident in language. The puzzling queries propounded by the *Dai* seemed to place him at the very gate of similar mysteries. But how to enter in? The *Dai*, as soon as he saw that his shaft had struck the mark, became as reserved as he had been communicative. He had nothing further to state except this—that an oath of unconditional obedience was the indispensable condition of further knowledge. The oath being taken, the second degree was entered upon.

In this, the inquirer was instructed that to the Imams alone had been entrusted the duty of teaching the Faithful, and that all the calamities which had fallen upon Islam were due to the abandonment of these true Teachers, for so-called Doctors, who had neither knowledge nor authority. The fourth degree made the inquirer acquainted with the special tenets regarding the Imamate held by the Ismailiens. This degree was of great importance. The inquirer was taught that since the creation of the world there had been seven "Periods," each distinguished by its own peculiar religion, promulgated by its special legislator or prophet. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, and lastly Muhammad the son of Ismail, were these seven legislators or prophets. In Muhammad, the son of Ismail, terminated the cycle of old faiths with their positive precepts, and inculcation of the letter; and with him began the knowledge of that mystical significance latent in all the preceding religions. The proselyte who passed through this

grade, ceased by that very act to be a Moslem ; since contrary to the positive prohibition of the prophet, he acknowledged a prophet posterior to Muhammad. In the fifth degree, the mind of the inquirer was imbued with a contempt for the Traditions, and the letter of the written Word. All moral commands, he was instructed, and all religious ceremonies were to be explained allegorically. Then some faint adumbration of the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers was brought in, to strengthen the special doctrines of the sect. Thus the seven Imams were declared to be figured and foreshadowed, in the seven planets, the seven heavens, the seven climates, and so forth. Each Imam had twelve principal ministers to make him known throughout the world, and these were symbolised in the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the twelve months of the year, the twelve tribes of Israel. The sixth degree made known to the proselyte the mystical sense concealed beneath the letter, resolving everything into the one duty of obedience to the Imam. Very few, however, of the proselytes advanced so far as this ; and still fewer, even among the missionaries, penetrated further than this sixth degree. In the seventh degree, the proselyte was made to observe that each one of the great prophets had had an assistant to preserve and propagate his doctrine ; thus Abraham had his son Ishmael ; Moses, Aaron ; Jesus, Simeon ; Muhammad, Ali ; and finally Ismail, the last of the Imams, had his son Muhammad. This species of duplicity he was then taught to perceive extended through the whole constitution of things. From the creation of the world there had been two living principles—the higher, *that which gives*—the lower, *that which receives* ; the one, male and life-giving ; the other, female and life-bearing. The object of this grade was to destroy the doctrine of the Unity by asserting the co-eternity of matter. The eighth degree developed this doctrine further. The two co-eternal principles, under the designation of *that which precedes* and *that which follows* were fused together into a vast and shadowy system of Pantheism which represented good and evil, joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, as manifestations of one changeless essence—a constant *becoming*, or everlasting process of evolution not unlike the operations of Hegel's famous principle of identity. Before this last revelation the entire fabric of past faiths crumbled into ruins. The miracles by which Prophets had enforced their teaching were merely an allegorical account of the rising of one religion on the ruins of that which preceded it ; the resurrection, the end of the world, the last judgment, the distribution of rewards and punishments, were figurative expressions to signify the recurring cycles of the stars—the death and new birth of all living things, from the inherent affinities and organic properties of matter. Arrived at the ninth degree, with his own former faith, as well as every other

shattered into indistinguishable ruin, with every precept of morality merged in a vague Pantheism, which converted the world into a terrible and unmeaning chaos; the proselyte was cast loose, to enjoy his freedom if he pleased, or should he prefer it, to choose from among the systems of philosophy, that which pleased him best. Coleridge has remarked on the appalling power of evil which the most insignificant man could put forth, who had completely emancipated himself from the dominion of conscience. Such men were the instruments the Fatimite Caliphs sought to frame, not without success, for their warfare with the Caliphs of Bagdad; and in the person of Hasan Ibn Sabah, first Grand Master of "the Assassins" they gave a terrible proof of the truth of Coleridge's remark.

Hasan Ibn Sabah, when yet a youth, was the companion and friend of two eminent men—Nizam-ul-Mulk the illustrious Prime Minister of the Seljuk Sultans, Alp Arslan and Malek Shah; and Omar Khayam, the astronomer and poet, whose name is in some degree familiar to English readers by the beautiful translation of his *Rubaiyat*. The Prime Minister has given an account of this connection which we reproduce from Mirkhond's History of the Assassins. "The Imam Mouafik, Nishapori," he writes, "one of the most illustrious doctors of Khorasan was every where held in honour, and his society sought out as a source of good fortune. It was the general opinion that all young men who were educated by him in the knowledge of the Koran and the traditions, obtained the favours of fortune. It was this belief which induced my father to send me from Thous to Nishapore. Two young men of my own age, Hakim Omar Khayam and the unfortunate Hasan Ibn Sabah, had also been entrusted to the care of the Imam a short time before I came. They were both gifted with excellent abilities, and we struck up a close friendship. Omar had been born at Nishapore; and Hasan Ibn Sabah had as his father, Ali, a man who led an austere and ascetic life, but who professed erroneous opinions, and was, in a word, suspected of heresy. Abu Moslem Razi, Governor of the province of Rei, where Ali dwelt, was remarkable for the purity of his faith and his zeal in the cause of orthodoxy. He openly declared himself the enemy of Ali; and the latter sought by lying words and false oaths to exculpate himself from the accusations of the Governor. As the Imam Mouafik Nishapori was held to be a model of right thinking and orthodox belief, this unfortunate man to remove from himself all suspicion of heresy, sent his son to Nishapore to study under the Imam. As for himself, he retired into a monastery, and devoted himself to a life of religious seclusion; at times, nevertheless, he was accused of an heretical attachment to the

doctrines of the Motazales; and at other times, of scepticism and atheism. He claimed to be of Arabic extraction of the family of Sabah Homäni; and said that his father first settled at Kufah, then at Kom, and finally at Rei. But the people of Khorasan, and particularly those of Thous, wholly discredited this statement, asserting that his ancestors had all along been inhabitants of that province. To come however to my tale; one day Hassan said to Khayam and me, 'It is a generally held opinion that the pupils of the Imam come to greatness; and doubtless, although the three of us cannot hope for equal good fortune, some one among us will verify the universal conviction regarding the Imam. In such case, what agreement shall we three make together?' 'Whatever you propose,' we replied. 'Well,' said he, 'let this be our engagement, that whoever among us shall attain to wealth or honour shall hold his possessions as common to all three.' We agreed to this proposal and bound ourselves by promises. The years went by, and I became Prime Minister to Alp Arslan; Hakim Omar Khayam came to me, and I did my utmost to fulfil the letter and spirit of our engagements." Omar Khayam would however take nothing, but permission to live at peace in Nishapore, on a small pension. "At Nishapore," adds the Vizier, "thus lived and died Omar Khayam, busied in winning knowledge of every kind, and especially in astronomy, wherein he attained to a very high pre-eminence." The wise poet had no wish to stretch himself upon the rack of this tough world. He has left us his philosophy of life.

Some for the glories of this world; and some
Sigh for the Prophet's paradise to come;
Ah, take the cash and let the promise go
Nor heed the music of a distant drum!

Were it not folly spider-like to spin
The thread of present life away to win—

What? for ourselves who know not if we shall
Breathe out the very breath we now breathe in!

"As for Hassan," proceeds the Vizier, "he had remained obscure and unknown the entire reign of Alp Arslan, and it was not until the time of Malek Shah, that he came to Nishapore, and made himself known. I received him with the greatest honours, and strove in every way to acquit myself honourably of the engagement I had contracted towards him when we were both young men."* In short Nizam-ul-Mulk obtained for his former friend an influential place at Court; and Hassan at once commenced to use his new position to plot the ruin of his benefactor. A long series of

* The above passages though printed in inverted commas are not a literal rendering of the Persian, but a condensed paraphrase.

plots, and counter-plots terminated in Hassan having brought himself into a position where he was in imminent danger of losing his head. He fled from the Court of Malek Shah, and after escaping many dangers and long wanderings he passed into Egypt and entered the service of Mostansir, the reigning Fatimite Caliph. It is important to note this incident. Malek Shah was a supporter of the Bagdad Caliphs and a Sunni, and only as an orthodox Moslem could Hassan have entered into his service. The ease with which he passed from orthodoxy to the atheism of the Ismailien, is the first evidence we have of that utter callousness of conscience which made him such a terrible scourge of the human race. Mostansir assigned him a residence in Cairo, and distinguished him by other marks of favour. At one time his prospects were so bright, that people spoke of him as about to become the Prime Minister. These changed with the swiftness characteristic of an Eastern Court. "A man is not perfect," was the maxim laid down by the Vizier of the Caliph Al-Mutassem, "unless he have abilities sufficient for elevating to the pulpit his friend though a simple soldier of police, and for sending to the gibbet his enemy, though a Vizier;" and a rival who had both the will and the capacity to act upon this rule of conduct converted for Hassan, the prospects of a Viziership into the reality of a dungeon in the Castle of Damietta. He was, however, released; and returning to Syria, spent three years preaching the tenets of the Ismailiens in Bagdad, Ispahan and other places, and making a great number of converts until A.D. 1090, when, partly by force, partly by stratagem, he obtained possession of the Castle of Alamut. Alamut (*i.e.*, the vulture's nest) so called from its impregnable position, is the largest and strongest of fifty castles which lie scattered about the district of Rudbar, at the distance of sixty parasangs north of Kasvin. This he resolved to make his capital, and he proceeded at once to strengthen the fortifications; he caused a canal to be dug, bringing water from a considerable distance to the foot of the castle; and planted groves of fruit trees around the cliffs on which the fortress was built. It was here too, that he reduced to a system the vague plans of aggrandisement he had now cherished through so many years of misfortune and obscurity.

Hassan perceived that in Central Asia, torn and distracted as it was, it needed only a ruthless tenacity of purpose for a man situated as he now was, to become a formidable potentate. The endless confusions of that period had filled Central Asia and Syria with hordes of armed men similar to the "Free Lances" who roamed over Europe during the long wars between France and England. Their military skill and practised rapacity were at the disposal of any one who could hold out pay or prospects

of plunder ; and Hassan Ibn Sabah, possessed of a strong fort, would have had but to hold up his hand, to collect abundant partisans around him. But this, the established method of carving a way to a throne, was too coarse and uncertain for his political subtlety. He had seen all his life that thrones built up with a mercenary soldiery for foundation never resisted a single defeat. He must contrive some plan whereby he should at once fix himself deeply in the hearts of his subjects, and the fear of him not less deeply in the hearts of his enemies. The appearance of religious zeal should effect the one ; and the secret use of the dagger, the other. It should be his to weld together into one cutting and irresistible weapon, the unquestioning devotion of religious fanaticism, and the cold calculating prudence of utter inhumanity. He perceived that hitherto the Ismailiens had committed a fatal error in their method of proselytism. They had not been sufficiently careful to conceal the atheism and anarchy which lurked at the root of their teaching. Hassan determined this should no longer continue. These tenets were now withdrawn into an impenetrable obscurity even from the mass of his own followers. To the world in general he stood forth—as a follower of Ali it is true—but also as a Moslem adhering strictly to the positive teaching of the Koran ; demanding from his subjects a rigorous abstinence from wine, and the due and proper fulfilment of all the rites required of the Faithful. For the purpose of inculcating this return to the zeal of a primitive faith, he created a hierarchy of seven grades, which spread themselves through all Asia. And, as it always must be, that times, when disorder, misery, and irreligion are at the highest, are also those when thousands of devout hearts long most earnestly for a spiritual reformation ; the efforts of these missionaries were eminently successful. But behind these, and concealed from the knowledge of the world—an inner circle within the larger—were initiated carefully selected proselytes into that secret training which should fit them to become the co-operators and lieutenants of the Ismailien chief. This, as at Cairo, consisted in passing the student through a variety of grades up to the inculcation of the utter indifference of human actions. Hassan was himself Grand Master of the Order ; next to him came his grand Priors or Lieutenants scattered through Persia and Syria, as the sect gradually won adherents in those countries ; then came the *Dais* or missionaries—the teachers of the secret doctrines ; the *Rafeek*, or those engaged in learning ; then the *Devoted* or those who had taken the oath of unquestioning obedience ; and lastly the *Aspirants*, who waited for the permission of the Grand Master to commence the process of initiation. Of these different classes, the one with which we are chiefly concerned is the *Devoted*. These supplied the murderers.

They were young men selected on account of their physical strength and courage. The whole object of their training was to inspire them with a spirit of absolute and utter submission to the Grand Master founded upon a conviction of his divine authority. There were two elements in the faith of a Moslem which rendered this object more easy of attainment than at first sight it appears to be. Muhammad, as we stated in our last paper, addressed God as the Merciful and the Compassionate, and these epithets were invariably attached to His name. But His mercy and compassion extended only to the Faithful. Unbelievers were to be cut off simply as such by fair means or foul. Had not the blessed Prophet himself slaughtered a whole Jewish tribe numbering some seven hundred men after they had surrendered themselves to his mercy? Had not the blessed Prophet moreover, once and again—some three or four times in fact—made use of the secret dagger and the midnight assassin to rid himself of rivals who were dangerous to himself and enemies of God? The practice of assassination then, was established by the most valid precedents as an equitable proceeding provided only the authority was good who gave the order. Hassan Ibn Sabah would not therefore lack instruments to execute his purposes if he could only convince them of his *right* to command them. The Muhammadan conception of Paradise rendered this a not very difficult matter. Sometimes in these latter days there is an attempt made to persuade people that Muhammad in his description of Paradise did not mean veritable damsels, or the veritable pleasures of the flesh. These things, we are asked to believe, were an allegory; and there is no doubt that in the palmy days of Bagdad, the contact with Greek philosophy and the infiltration of Christian thought operated as most potent solvents on the coarse materialism of the early Arab faith. Philosophic minds—"the Wise" as they were designated—dealt with the legends of the Koran, precisely in the same manner as the Neo-Platonists treated the old Greek mythologies. Muhammad's Paradise as well as much else, vanished in the most unmeaning jumble of language and ideas that ever styled itself 'Philosophy' since the foundation of the world. The streams of heaven and hell became the pleasures and pains endured during the time of the soul's progress and regress. The rivers of milk were held to signify rivers of knowledge for noble persons; the celestial wine served out to the Faithful was the removal of terror and fear and sadness; and the dark-eyed Houris, "concealed in the pavilions" were scientific secrets hidden from the eyes of the profane by a veil. But certainly the Faithful in Islam rejected these heretical notions with scorn and indignation. "It is related (in the *Hak-ul-Yakeen*) that Abubaseer addressed the Imam Sadik,

saying, "May I be your sacrifice! O descendant of the Prophet, excite my desires for Paradise." The Imam replied, "There is a river in Paradise on whose banks maidens grow, and whenever a believer passes and is charmed with one of them and takes her away, the Most High causes another to grow in her place." "May I be your sacrifice!" said the man, "still more increase my longing desire." The Imam continued, "Every believer will have seven thousand virgins, four thousand women, and seven thousand Houries." "May I be your sacrifice!" exclaimed Abubaseer, "will every believer have seven thousand virgins?" "Yes," rejoined the Imam* and then proceeds to enter into the most delicate details regarding "the marrow of their ankles" which will shine through "their seventy dresses" with other particulars quite unquotable. This seems to us tolerably decisive on the matter. At any rate, whatever is the case with the Moslemin generally, Hassan Ibn Sabah knew his followers too well to introduce the allegorical method of interpretation into the Prophet's description of Paradise,—and the process in his hands of manufacturing a *Devoted* was very simple indeed. One of these young men would be asked to the table of the Grand Master, and while there laid under the influence of a strong opiate. While still unconscious, he was conveyed away to a delicious garden, and there awoke amid the perfume of flowers, and the cool splashing of fountains, with crowds of dark eyed and obsequious damsels, flitting around him. After a few days passed in this Paradise, he was again rendered insensible and retransferred to the light of common day. To an illiterate uneducated mind, what stronger proof could be given of the supernatural power of the Grand Master? Paradise was no longer an anticipation; he had actually seen it and tasted of its pleasures. The momentary agony of death alone divided him from their unbroken fruition. He was only called upon to obey and die. Faith had been turned into sight.

Hardly, however, had Hassan established himself in Alamut, than he was assailed. The Sultan Malek Shah despatched a force with orders to take the castle and exterminate the defenders. Hassan was on the point of capitulating when one of his lieutenants, Abu Ali, who was making proselytes in Kasvin, sent three hundred men who effected a junction with the garrison, and in a night attack completely dispersed the besieging force. This check only stimulated the determination of Malek Shah. He ordered another body of troops to march; this time against Hassan's Lieutenant, Hossain Kaini, who was preaching with great effect in the mountains of Kohistan. Hossain took shelter in one of the hill forts and was

* Cited by the Rev. T. Merrick, in *Muhammad*.
his work on the Life and Religion of

blockaded. To extricate his Lieutenant, Hassan had recourse for the first time to the dagger. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the aged minister of Malek Shah, was stabbed to death; and Malek Shah followed him to the grave a few weeks after, not without strong suspicion of poison. This occurred A.H. 485 (A.D. 1093), and the anarchy that immediately ensued enabled Hassan Sabah to consolidate his power. The vast kingdom of the Seljukides was torn in pieces by the struggles of rival claimants, and Asia from Herat to the Caspian Sea resounded with the tramp of marching armies.

R. D. O.

(To be continued.)

ART. VI.—THE BENGAL COMMISSARIAT.

PART III. (*Conclusion.*)

“**N**OUS avons changé tout cela.” This familiar quotation is ordinarily accepted as the embodiment of a somewhat capricious sentiment of a too fickle people; but, rightly interpreted, it will be found eminently suggestive of modern progress. The apophthegm has a double significance. It may either be regarded in its retrospective sense as the positive affirmation of a plain fact, or it may be taken as an announcement on the part of the speaker of a determination to desert old grooves entirely, and to be guided in thoughts and actions, present and prospective, by an altered and improved order of ideas and circumstances. To know when to adopt the sentiment in its latter sense and put its precepts into practice, is to possess a rare sagacity and prevision worthy a great statesman. Much undoubtedly has been done of late years in India to remove the quondam stigma, that were British rule withdrawn, no evidence of its pre-existence would remain, save in the ubiquitous presence of empty beer bottles; but still it must be confessed, that the chrysalis of European civilisation has taken, and is taking, an uncommonly long time to inchoate in this country. The fault, it is believed, lies in the several Governors-General succeeding Lord Dalhousie, either having failed to appreciate the situation presented to them in the manner above commended, or, to their having been kept in leading strings, and bound over to a policy provided cut and dry for them before leaving England. Though the stagnation complained of is general, in no direction is it so manifest as in the military policy of the country, which as a subject-matter cognate to this article must be briefly adverted to.

In the pages of a certain Blue Book, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 17th August 1871, will be found several valuable minutes, recording the opinions of very high authorities on the subject of Indian Military policy. Before proceeding to notice these, it may be useful first to explain the *raison d'être* of the said Blue Book itself. The very voluminous correspondence it contains, covering nearly 400 pages, appears to have been educed by a despatch from the Secretary of State, dated 26th January 1869, wherein the Duke of Argyll “in considering recently, in Council, the present state of taxation in India” discovers, that no reduction can be made in civil charges, but, suggests, that the military expenditure should be reduced, and to this end, that a searching review of all its branches should be made “on the same principle as that adopted in 1859-60.” Army

and Garrison Staff, and the Commissariat, Barrack, and Stud Departments, being more particularly pointed out as promising possible retrenchments. The late Lord Mayo's government, while declining to appoint a commission like that of 1859-60, somehow, for it is not satisfactorily explained on what grounds, but it is presumed under financial pressure, and probably seeing no other expedient open, jumped to the conclusion, that reduction in the strength of the army, European and Native, was demanded by the Secretary of State. Accordingly four or five schemes were elaborated, each exhibiting great reductions in strength, to the extent of 9,000 men in the Native Army alone; but none of these met the approval of His Grace of Argyll, who objected to them mainly on the ground, that the major portion of the reductions proposed in the Native forces would fall unequally on the Madras Army. Meantime, Lord Napier of Magdala became Commander-in-Chief, and backed by the puissant Horse Guards, objected to reductions in strength in toto, and raised his warning voice with such effect, that the idea of completing those under projection was finally abandoned. The Duke of Argyll in retiring from the position he had taken up, reminded the Indian Government, that in his original despatch he had never hinted even at reduction of strength in troops, but had merely hoped for saving in military expenditure through more economical management without sacrifice in strength. The general result was, that a few divisional commands were abolished, a few changes were made in the pay of the officers of the Body Guard, an Eurasian Battery of Artillery was disbanded, the services of two European Cavalry Regiments were dispensed with, and the cadres (not rank and file) of fourteen Batteries of Artillery were reduced. In short, a comparatively insignificant saving in expenditure was effected. Great cry and little wool. Yet, though they missed the true mark, the Duke of Argyll and Lord Napier of Magdala had reason in their opinions, each from his own point of view. On the one hand, who with the slightest experience can doubt, that a considerable saving in expenditure, civil as well as military, could be effected by a rigorous and intelligent scrutiny of the details of all its branches. To cite an instance in point, all authorities mentioned in the Blue Book referred to, unanimously concurred in opinion, that no decrease in the expenditure of the Commissariat Department was possible through administrative action; whereas, Part II. of this Article has indeed been written in vain, if it does not point to a far different conclusion. The appointment of a self-seeking and expensive commission like that of 1859-60 is indeed to be deprecated, but surely there are members of the Council, who could bring the requisite industry, independence, and ability to a task so important. On the other hand, who, after reading the

Blue Book aforesaid, could remain unconvinced that Lord Napier had good reason for strenuously resisting all diminution of military strength as premature and impolitic, if not indeed dangerous.

No less is it certain, however, that great saving in military expenditure can only be expected from organic changes in the military policy heretofore pursued. These changes on the other hand cannot be safely attempted until the completion of the North-Western and North-Eastern Frontier systems of railways and arterial strategic lines, enabling the forces serving in the various Provinces of the empire (except Burmah) to co-operate freely and act as reserves one to the other; and, until a disarmament of the Native States, and a general disarming of their peoples, have been effected. It may be well to quote the opinion of the late lamented Lord Mayo on this important point, expressed in a singularly lucid and statesmanlike minute, dated 3rd October 1870. "It is possible, that the forces of the Native chiefs, who are individually friendly to us cannot be relied on. The existence of such armies is no doubt an evil in itself. I think that many of the arrangements made after the mutiny were unfortunate in this respect." But this brings the schemes of military policy above adverted to on the tapis.

The late Sir Henry Durand, and Sir William Mansfield (Lord Sandhurst) had each an alternative scheme. The former proposed, that the Commands-in-Chief at Madras and Bombay with the staff and offices thereto attached should be reduced; and, that there should be either only one Commander-in-Chief for all India with full executive power, but having no seat in Council, or that there should be a Commander-in-Chief for the forces north of the Nerbudda line, and another subordinate Commander-in-Chief for those stationed south of that stream. The latter scheme, though fathered by Sir Henry Durand, was not strongly advocated by him. Sir William Mansfield proposed.—I. The appointment of a War Minister for India on a similar footing, and position to that held in the French army. The war minister to remain always with the Supreme Government, and to have control of all departments of the Army, Pay, Ordnance, Military Works, Commissariat, etc. etc., included. Further, that there should be five Lieutenant-Generals commanding distinct Corps d'Armée in Madras, Bombay, including Central Provinces, Government of the Punjab and Sindh, Governments of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, including Malwa, Rajpootana, and Central Provinces north of the Nerbudda, and the Governments of Bengal and Burmah. These Lieutenant-Generals to have military functions only. II.—Or that the commands at Madras and Bombay should be abolished and no other change made

These schemes may be very scientific and ably conceived, and the first proposed by Sir William Mansfield is unquestionably so, but it is hardly probable, that any one of them will be carried out in its entirety. Still considered collectively in conjunction with the remarks above made, it may be accepted, that sufficiently reliable premises are afforded, wherefrom to cast the promised horoscope of the Commissariat Department with tolerable accuracy.

The changes anticipated will lead in natural sequence to the following results, each affecting, more or less, the future of the Commissariat Department.

I.—Obliteration of all distinctions between the present presidential limits, as far at least as military purposes are concerned.

II.—The assumption by the State of the direct control and management of the frontier and other strategical lines of railway, including the telegraphs therewith connected.

III.—The reorganisation of the different transport services.

IV.—The redistribution of troops, garrisons, and magazines. Let these points have seriatim consideration. The extinction of presidential limits will obviously have the effect of centralising all military control, and will thus affect the "personnel" of the Commissariat, in common with that of other Army Departments. Only one Commissary General will be needed, who, it is hoped, will have direct communication with the Government, and be held strictly responsible for the economical as well as efficient working of the Department throughout India. Of course the present Departments in each presidency will become amalgamated. This unification will have many good results. A wider field of experience will be presented to the officers and employés generally, tending greatly to the increase of their efficiency; while the advantages and defects of the different systems obtaining in each of the presidencies will be forced into contrast, and comparison. An *entente cordiale* will be established amongst the superior officers, and a more elevated *esprit de corps* induced, through the extinction of petty inter-departmental jealousies, of the existence of which evidence was not wanting when the Bengal and Bombay Commissariats were brought into contact during the Abyssinian Campaign. What saving by reduction in the number of offices and establishments may be possible will much depend upon whether troops are more or less concentrated, but probably some may be expected. On the other hand, assimilation of the systems of account, and the abolition of separate offices of audit, will be attended with great general convenience, and no small diminution of expenditure. Uniformity of system will also not be without a certain effect in reducing and equalising prices. It might further be shown, that the establishment of a unified Imperial Commissariat for India

will not be without influence on civilisation and progress, if the Department be regarded as a vehicle of disseminating more advanced and cosmopolitan ideas through the medium of its large clientèle of intelligent native contractors and agents.

Much has been said, and even sung, in eulogy of the railway as the great pioneer of modern civilisation, and tomes of volumes have been indited illustrative of its value as a promoter of the arts of peace. Its uses and effects in war would appear, however, to have engaged a comparatively limited measure of attention, particularly in insular England. For this reason probably, no general maxims, for its suitable employment as an ancillary element of military power, have been available for guidance in India, where the railway system has been initiated, and is still being developed, without subordination to any intelligible principles of strategy whatever. Were other proof of this wanting, sufficient might be found in the fact, that the military force in the North-West or Trans-Indus frontier, which, as to its vulnerability by an external force may be regarded in its relation to the Indian empire, as the very heel of Achilles, remains to this day unsupported by the wings of modern war, as railways may not inaptly be styled. It is luckily not too late, though doubtless difficult, to retrieve this great error; and it cannot be too strongly urged, that to this end a commission, competent to the task should even now be appointed to determine upon a strategical system of railways—frontier, seaboard, and internal.

The cost of maintaining standing armies has been called the insurance paid for the security of national property. Hence, whatever tends to render the insurance more reliable, must be a matter of primary importance. Some high military authorities have been inclined to undervalue railways as an auxiliary to military power in India; but it is monstrous to suppose, that the superior mobilisation, and rapidity of assuming the offensive rendered possible through their possession, can be without great effect on both the strategy and tactics of any army, far less of the British army in India, against which, be it remembered, no such power can in turn be opposed. The main objections urged against railways are, the facility with which they can be destroyed, and that, when the possessors are no longer able to hold the country in which they exist the value of the railways to them ceases. These statements taken as affirming truisms are incontrovertible, but may be judged tantamount to a denunciation of human inventions in general. It may be safely concluded from previous experience, that all the races and tribes of Hindustan are never likely to be arrayed together at one time against their conquerors. Such being the case, were the land encompassed by a net work of railways, the destruction of a few of the

meshes would simply have the effect of isolating temporarily the tracts they had intersected, just in the same way as one damaged compartment of an iron vessel may be secluded, without the safety of the vessel itself being seriously compromised. It is also to be said, that the facility with which a railway line is obstructed, or destroyed, may conversely, on occasion prove a positive advantage to a force retreating on its reserves and resources. As regards the second objection, it is argued, that though a railway may become useless to its possessors in case of their having to abandon the country in which it exists, still it need not necessarily afford aid to the enemy. Indeed in India, it is very unlikely to do so; while the possession of a line of rail may often, as Lord Mayo justly remarked, enable a position to be held which could not otherwise be so.

Public opinion in England in 1868-69 was strongly expressed in favour of the assumption by Government of the direct management and control of railways and telegraphs; and, as a consequence, the telegraphs actually passed into Government hands. The railways would have shared the same fate, had the capital been forthcoming to redeem the country from the evil consequences of a quarter of a century of legislative blunders in permitting the construction of railways at haphazard, whereby vast sums were sunk, and wasted on lines which were not needed, and a ruinous over-competition induced. Like considerations, and others of still graver political and military urgency point to the advisability, nay necessity, of railways and telegraphs in India being placed under the sole control of the Government. Their construction, maintenance, and working should be entrusted to the Government engineers, military and civil, while the traffic management of the railways, as also the business details of the telegraphs, should be confided to the Commissariat Department. Of course it would be necessary to train officers specially for these new duties; but, once a skilled staff was secured, it is believed that both railways and telegraphs would be worked with equal efficiency, and with much greater economy, than at present. It is obvious, that in the event of military operations on an extensive scale being necessary, it would be of the first importance that the means of transport should be at the ready disposal of the generals; and that no small advantage would accrue from the railways and telegraphs being administered and worked by officers experienced in the requirements of an army, and accustomed to provide for its wants. Again, Government would assuredly gain considerable increase of influence and patronage, to say nothing of other greater collateral advantages, by assuming the direct control of railways and telegraphs. Notably, there would be no necessity for separate telegraph lines and a separate telegraph

department such as at present exist, nor for a separate staff of consulting engineers.

Before leaving the subject of railways, there is one point more which demands a brief notice. There is no need to renew here the battle of the Guages, or to import into this article any discussion of the comparative merits of the broad and narrow systems of railroads ; at the same time a hope must be expressed, that for all strategical lines a uniform guage may be adopted affording adequate carrying power for ordnance of at least medium calibre, and for the heavier munitions of war. It is feared that this desideratum has too frequently been lost sight of in deliberations on this question. Further, it is essential, that a sufficient number of waggons of suitable construction should be provided on all main lines for the conveyance of heavy war material. The value of this latter suggestion will be at once manifest to those who may have experienced the difficulties in despatching heavy artillery and munitions by rail, where only the ordinary rolling stock was available for its accommodation.

With the development of railways, the means of transport at present obtainable for service with troops will of necessity undergo considerable change. Doolie bearers will soon find their occupation gone, and will not be available for hire. It will therefore be needful for Government to maintain a trained establishment of bearers of its own. These men should be enlisted for a fixed period of service and should form part of the transport corps hereinafter advocated. As an expeditious and tender means of conveying wounded men to the rear in action, the doolie stands unrivalled ; while too high praise cannot be accorded to the moral courage displayed by the doolie bearers, who in the discharge of their merciful calling, have ever been found willing to bear no inconsiderable part of the risks, without sharing in any of the glory and excitement of battle. The advantage of doolies for conveyance of sick or footsore men on an ordinary march is not so apparent. In the first place, sick men should never be permitted to commence or continue a march whenever they can be treated better in station hospitals ; while, on the other hand, ambulances can be provided much cheaper than doolies, and would afford all the relief needed on customary occasions. Ambulances might, therefore, with advantage be largely substituted for doolies for carriage of sick and wounded men on service in the plains. For hill warfare no change in the present equipment will be required.

Again, owing to the impossibility of transporting elephants and camels by rail, the sphere of usefulness of these valuable baggage animals must become much circumscribed. As regards elephants, the circumstance may be deemed a boon for the poor animal at least ; for, though useful anywhere, from its great strength, patient

endurance, and docility, it is still but ill adapted for work in the arid and uncongenial plains of the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab, where its vigour and longevity become quickly impaired. It were far better relegated to its proper habitat in its native jungles in Burmah, the North-Eastern frontier and the Nepal Terai, where especially, it must remain invaluable as a beast of burthen for many a long day to come.

The case is much more serious as affecting camels. In the Punjab, Sind, and Central India, camels have hitherto afforded the principal means of transport, and better can nowhere be found. Railways will have the effect not only of driving camels off the roads, but, as a consequence, unless Government takes measures to prevent it, the breed of these animals must become extinct. It would hardly be worth while to maintain the breed of camels for baggage purposes alone, as other means can be substituted without much loss of efficiency. It is surprising, however, how little military men would appear to have appreciated the value of the camel corps raised during the mutiny. What good service riflemen mounted on horseback can perform, was fully exemplified during the last American struggle ; when, more than once, the fate of a battle was decided by a judicious employment of such corps. But how much greater is the efficiency of riflemen mounted on fleet and well-trained camels ? With native riders guiding, while the European marksmen sit unencumbered "en croupe" ready, if need be, to act as infantry, a camel corps can manœuvre at the rate of seven, if not eight, miles an hour, and can march fifty or sixty miles a day with ease for weeks consecutively. Moving with all the rapidity of Uhlans, and fourfold more formidable, what could not a force so constituted achieve. With what effect could it be employed in checking raids, or in nipping rebellion in the bud ? In short, the capability such corps afford of bringing arms of precision to bear with the greatest possible rapidity and effect in any given direction would seem to satisfy all the conditions essential to tactical success. Why the camel corps raised during the Mutiny were disbanded is not remembered, but the sooner the blunder made in this respect is rectified the better. While equal in warlike power to three European cavalry regiments, which are, indeed, placed at great disadvantage in this country, a camel corps such as described is infinitely cheaper to maintain than a single regiment of the latter. Moreover, it must be remembered that by dismounting the extra rider, the camels of such corps might be employed, as occasion required, for baggage purposes ; and, considering that camels can move with ease in countries impracticable almost to other beasts of burden, or to wheeled carriage, this must be accounted no small advantage. Having thus briefly enumerated the advantages to be derived, it is recommended, that at

least three or four of such camel corps should be substituted for a like number of costly European cavalry regiments, and that Government should take active measures to prevent the extinction of the breed of camels, if for no other object than the preservation of a novel arm of unique efficiency for India. The defects of the present so-called Rewaree system of supplying camels have been exposed in part II.

It follows, that in the future, reliance will mainly have to be placed for the means of transport on wheeled carriage, and pack animals, mules, ponies and bullocks. Much inconvenience, irritation, and loss are now too often caused to farmers and traders by the withdrawal of their draught cattle for the use of troops; and as the resources of the country expand, the evil will be in proportion enhanced. In the interests of agriculture and commerce these constant requisitions should cease, and it is incumbent on Government to make special arrangements for the provision of draught bullocks for the transport of military stores and baggage, in the same manner as is now done for artillery purposes. Wheeled carriage cannot be employed in the plains where there are no practicable roads, nor can it be employed at all in the hills. Moreover, wheeled carriage cannot very conveniently be dismembered and packed for despatch by rail.

It is therefore advisable, that the transport to be maintained for the future should consist principally of pack animals. Such can travel readily by rail, and are useful under all conditions of service, whether on the plains, or on the hills. It may be anticipated, that movements of troops will generally take place by rail; but for feeding the rail, and to enable each separate corps d'armée to provide its quota of troops effective for any emergency of service arising at a distance from its proper zone of operations, it will be necessary to maintain a suitable equipment of road transport. Generals in all ages have chafed at the anxieties and abstractions caused them by the impedimenta of their armies; and, in India more especially, armies have invariably such a following of uncontrolled, and uncontrollable rabble, as seriously to hamper their operations in the field. To remedy this evil, and to create something like order from the present chaotic confusion, organisation is needed. To this end, it is recommended, that for each corps d'armée one or more land transport corps should be formed, to which doolie bearers, and all baggage cattle and their attendants, should be attached. The men of each class should have a distinctive uniform dress; and both men and animals should receive sufficient training to enable them to perform their duties with system, and to take up and keep their proper places on a march without uproar and confusion.

It is doubted whether the location of troops, European and

native, has hitherto been arranged in reference to any general system of military policy. Regiments and detachments are even now scattered, here and there, nearly at random. It was this very objectionable dispersion of the European forces during the Mutiny of 1857, that gave to that revolt all the vitality it acquired. On its first outbreak, had it been possible to concentrate a well appointed force of 5000 Europeans, who, who has read the history of the British conquest of India or who remembers the glorious achievements of Havelock's small force, can doubt that it would speedily have been suppressed. As it was, the Mutiny starting into hydra-headed existence, found itself opposed to weak and scattered detachments of European troops, which could only remain on the defensive; and thus that event witnessed the arms of 45,000 or 50,000 of the bravest troops in the world paralyzed, and all through a vicious system, or rather want of any system, of military strategy.

It is true that since the Mutiny, carriage has been kept up to enable the ready movement and co-operation of troops to a partial extent; but the European forces are still dangerously scattered. It is hoped that, when perfect railway and telegraphic communication is established, the means of rapid concentration will be secured, and thus great reduction, as well in the strength of troops, as also diminution of military expenditure generally, will be rendered possible in combination with increased efficiency. There is no reason either, as a secondary, but far from immaterial point, why the bulk of the European army should not be located in the hill sanatoria. By this means not only will the present exhaustive drain on England's best manhood be reduced to a minimum, but other great benefits will result. *Inter alia*, it is hoped, that the opportunity of making the European soldier more self-reliant will not be over-looked. It is a national reproach, that recruited principally from the manufacturing classes of the first manufacturing nation in the world, the British soldier is more helpless and less capable of contributing to his own personal comfort than any other. In India more especially, the evil is much aggravated; for, while military reformers generally, and all who have had under consideration the moral and physical well-being of the soldier, deplore what they are pleased to call the enforced idleness to which he is subjected, not the slightest exertion is demanded of him. Of course the stock argument is, that it is not possible for the soldier to work so hard in this climate as in a more temperate zone. The location of troops in the hills will effectually serve to explode this fallacy; but it may in passing be remarked, that the influences of cold, even moderately severe, are as difficult to resist as those of heat. Further, it is quite a moot point, whether extreme indolence in a hot climate is not more prejudicial to health, especially in

the young and vigorous subject, than any amount of severe physical exertion. But no severe exertion need be demanded of the soldier. Food and requisites being supplied him, it is contended, that he should be merely called upon to do what is necessary to bring such into a fit state for consumption or expenditure.

This would not only be beneficial to the public service, but profitable to himself; for of course it is contemplated that he should be paid a fair wage for his labour. It has already been recommended in this article that he should make, and repair his own barrack-furniture; nor is there any reason why he should not bake his own bread. With the aid of machinery this latter is far from a laborious occupation. Nor do killing, and distributing meat-rations, tinning cooking utensils, pitching tents, lading baggage, etc., involve any inordinate amount of physical exertion. Again, employment for the women might readily be found in making up, with the aid of sewing machines, barrack and hospital clothing and bedding of all kinds. With proper management and after a little training and experience, the soldier might also be made equally self-reliant, and independent in the field as in cantonments; and thus the services of the army of rabble followers, which now hampers an European force in India, might be dispensed with. It may be argued that it is not only inexpedient, but a measure of more than doubtful economy, to weaken the European line of battle by withdrawing soldiers from their proper occupation of fighting. But this need not of necessity follow, for soldiers do not fight a battle, nor make forced marches every day; while the resources of a good Commissariat should always be adequate to obviate much inconvenience arising under such exigencies of service. This idea might be enlarged upon in full detail, did not respect for the patience of the general reader forbid. Suffice it to say, that it is quite feasible; and if carried out, not only would the soldier become more efficient in a fighting point of view, but healthier, wealthier, and wiser.

It will be observed that throughout this article, little comparatively has been said regarding the duties of the Commissariat on field service. The fact is, that if a good commissariat system exists in time of peace, it is sure to prove equal to the emergency of war. While in the field, much must of necessity be left to the individual intelligence, fore-thought, and resource of the Commissariat officer. Onerous as the duties of a Commissariat officer employed with troops actually engaged on service may be, the main strain of anxiety must generally rest with the Commissariat officer at the base of operations, whose duties lie in collecting and forwarding supplies of all kinds, upon which the very existence of an army may depend, while the officer in advance may merely have to distribute them. This point has not been sufficiently recognised in the distribution of rewards.

ART. VII.—INDEPENDENT SECTION.*

SPELLING OF INDIAN NAMES.

1.—*Gazette of India*, 1871, 1872.

2.—*Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms, A—J*. By Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B. 1844.

WHEN measures are devised or adopted for effecting some particular object of importance, it is necessary not only to think of that object as expressed in general terms, but to have regard to the exact purpose to be served, and to the people for whom, for whose use or benefit, the measures in question are to be adapted.

There are different classes of persons to be considered, and there are different kinds of purposes to be served, in many arrangements of general importance, which often seem, when spoken of in the general terms used on the subject, to have but one application. And thus the matter is liable to be disposed of too readily, in a wrong way, when either the general object alone is thought of, without definite regard to the particular purposes in view, or people concerned; or when some one or more of the purposes and classes of people are kept in view, to the exclusion or neglect of others.

There has been much difference of opinion, and some controversy, regarding the proper mode of representing Indian words and names in English letters. And much of this difference and controversy arises from either a too vaguely general, or a too partial and restricted, view of the real object to be attained.

It goes against the natural and reasonable desire that people have to use the same method of representing sounds in Indian names that are most commonly used for representing the same sounds in their own language, to find the Government of India adopting a mode of spelling Indian words in English publications which is not in accordance with English usage. But still the question is, is it the right mode, for the purposes it is meant to serve, and the people for whose use it is intended?

There are, no doubt, inconveniences and difficulties in the system, in the want of uniformity it introduces, and the errors it is liable to cause. In every English book or paper in which this method is followed, two kinds of spelling are used, when one might be used throughout,—that, namely, which is in accordance with the general practice of our language. But does this, nevertheless,

* See the Editorial Note at the last page of this *Review*.

best effect what is required, and best suit the people chiefly concerned?

It is true it is not in accordance with what we are accustomed to in other similar cases. How, it might be asked, would people succeed in reading the oriental words in a French book or paper,—the names of people and places in their Algerian possessions, for instance,—if, instead of taking the French sounds of the letters, the names were spelt in a way which followed the usage of some other European language? What would be the meaning or advantage of this? And what the effect, except to mislead? Yet this, it will be said, is what we are asked to do now with regard to Indian names introduced in English publications. We are to use Italian and German pronunciation of vowels, instead of English.

Now we know well that the English language contains words having very various pronunciations of vowels (and of consonants too, but we are not immediately concerned with this). But is this a reason, it may further be asked, for adding to its variations? Here is what we find with regard to this very abnormal and irregular language of ours. Notwithstanding many varieties in vowel sounds, it has certain general, recognised, well understood pronunciations of vowels and double vowels, in constant use, and about which, when used to represent the sound of strange words there is no manner of doubt.

In particular, the English language possesses a special advantage for this purpose, in the double vowels *ee* and *oo*. Though there are certain exceptional pronunciations of the latter, no English reader, coming upon an Indian word in which they are used, would pronounce these double vowels in any but one way. This may be stated quite unreservedly. There is no risk whatever of mistake. Now should we deliberately reject this advantage which our English practice affords, and adopt, to represent the same sounds, letters which *are* apt to be mispronounced?

This liability to cause error, in the system now in question, has to be guarded against by directions for pronunciation, and by the use of accents. Instructions, or illustrations which serve as instructions, easily reach the regular readers of Government publications in India, and they have opportunities of becoming familiar with them. But what about the generality of uninstructed readers in England, as well as in India, who have a kind of right to expect, like the readers of other languages, to find Indian names presented to them in a form which they can read correctly at once, and to be able to find names in a book of reference, or in an index, by looking for them where they would be found if spelt in English letters according to their sound?

If we adopt the other spellings, in publications we send to friends at home, and in our letters to them, are we at the same

time to send them instructions, when we might use spellings which they could read correctly without a guide?

Again, to mark the vowels to which particular sounds are to be given, different from other sounds which the same vowels may bear, recourse is had to accents. This is necessary. Without them there is ambiguity, as, for instance, in such words as *hakim* and *hukeem*, which, in the Jonesian method, are spelt alike, and can have the distinction shown only by accents. There is no ambiguity in such words when they are written, as above, in the more familiar English way which needs no accents.

Accents are not in ordinary use in writing the English language. Their application to varieties of sound is not known in English. The only use we ever make of them is to mark emphasis and rhythm. They are not generally needed, either, for distinction of sounds in the writing of Indian words, if the common use of English vowels is followed, though an accent or long mark in a few cases is useful. To look at a page of a Gazette of India Supplement, plentifully peppered with acute accents, one might think our good old letters had lost their power to serve our purposes, as they have done in by-gone days, and that, in their enfeebled condition, they were obliged to have recourse to foreign help.

The principal distinguishing un-English features of the system that has been adopted are these.

The vowel *a* unaccented, is made to represent the most ordinary English short sound of *u*. The words *Suddur Bazar*, for instance, which, in this form, few English readers would mispronounce, are written, *Sadar* (or *Sadr*) *Bázár*; the distinctions in the vowel sounds being lost without accents, and even with them not made clear.

The vowel *i*, accented, is to be sounded as *ee*. Thus *satti* is the method of writing *suttee*; a word with which, in the latter form, English people are familiar.

The letter *u* is used for *oo*, as in the word *munshi*, meant to be pronounced *moonshée*. Which of these two is likely to be most readily intelligible to English readers?

The combined vowels *au* are made to have the common sound of the English *ou* as in *house*, or *ow* as in *how*. Thus *Lakhnau* is the way in which according to the new system the more familiar *Lucknow* should be spelt.*

These are the chief points to be noticed. Now it is not to be asserted that the English language never has *i* sounded as *ee*, or *u* as *oo*. We all know it is otherwise. But here is the thing

* Shall we have our station of ready have *Kasauli*, meant for *Kus-Dalhousie* made *Dalhausi*? We al- sowlee.

to be observed ; that in no word in the English language are the long sounds of *ee* and *oo* given to the single vowels *i* and *u* when the syllable in which these letters occur is not followed by some qualifying letter or syllable, in virtue of which that sound is given. That there is in short, (which is the point aimed at,) no analogy in the English language with the sound which is given to these letters in numerous Indian words spelt in the new manner, notably in the frequent termination, *pur*, of the names of towns. There is nothing in the customary practice of the English language to prepare an ordinary English reader to pronounce correctly the Indian words in which these vowels are thus used, as *Wazir*, *Nagpur*, &c., while the customary usage of the English language does enable any ordinary English reader to pronounce these words correctly and without hesitation, when they are written *Wuzeer*, *Nagpoor*, &c.

With regard to the use made of the unaccented *a*, in no instance in the English language, (or, it is believed, in any other,) has the letter *a* that sound of an English *u* which is given to it in words like *Nagar*, *Deoband*, *Jabalpur*, &c. Whether will English people be more likely to pronounce these names correctly when written as above, or when written *Nuggur*, *Deobund*, *Jubbulpoor* ?

In the English language *au* never has the sound it is made to represent in this system.

Thus every one of these distinctive representations of vowel sounds is at variance with the most ordinary usages of the language in which they are to be introduced.

It will be seen that it is here assumed throughout that a writing of any kind, in any language, should, to serve its purpose, be in a form readily apprehended by readers of that language ;—an English writing, for instance, by English readers. The argument that the new spelling is meant to be intelligible also to readers of other languages is (even if it were true that it is so) a very shallow and untenable reason for its adoption in ordinary English writings. For if we wish to be intelligible to the readers of any other language, should we not write in their language, instead of limiting our presumed usefulness to the Indian words we have occasion to introduce ? It would be a very small satisfaction to a foreign reader to recognise the Indian words, if he could not read the rest. And if he can read the rest, then he will best read the Indian words if they are represented in a manner corresponding to the rest of the writing, (that is, just according to the practice of his own country in similar cases,) instead of in a manner different from the rest, though kindly supposed to be better adapted to his capacity. Suppose French papers were to agree to put all proper names in the English form for the benefit of English readers, would it benefit an English reader, ignorant of French, to catch sight of the words

England, and London, and James, and William, and Peter, in a French newspaper? If he did recognise one of these names when he could not understand anything else in the paper, what would he do with it? And if he could read the French, would he be any the better of the English form of the proper names, or inconvenienced by meeting instead with Londres, and Jacques, and Pierre? So if a French reader should be enabled by our method of spelling Indian words to pronounce correctly the proper names in an English publication, he will gain little if he does not read English; and, if he does, he does not need this adaptation of the spelling of proper names to the usages of his own language. And why should we attempt this? We do not expect it of the writers of any other languages. Why should we? What language should forsake its own custom in this matter for the benefit of others? And of what others? Is the method in question such as is adapted to the usage of any one European language? No. The *au* which will do for the Germans, the *u* which will suit the Italians, will not help French readers to the right pronunciation; and the way in which we are to use *a* will not be a guide to anybody. The method does not therefore possess this advantage which is sometimes claimed for it. And, if it did, why this in preference to the natural and rational plan of each language adapting its spellings of foreign words to its own readers?

It is worth while to say a word or two more about one of the above noticed unusual applications of our vowels. The advocates of the Jonesian and Indian Government methods have never, so far as we are aware, fairly attempted to justify the use of the letter *a* to represent the well-marked sound of the English *u* in Indian names such as those before mentioned, *Nagar*, *Deoband*, *Jabalpur* (Nuggur, Deobund, Jubbulpoor), and words such as *basti* (bustee) *chakbandi* (chukbundee) &c., but take their illustrations of its use as a short vowel from those applications of it in Indian words which are similar to common uses of it in English; as in the words *pillar*, *patrol*, *assistant*, *above*, *abroad*, *villa*, *Victoria*, *trial*, *Chobham*, &c., when the accent or emphasis does not fall upon it, and it is lightly pronounced, as other vowels similarly situated might be, without any very distinctive sound.

It is not *this* use of the letter *a* that any English reader finds opposed to his experience, and liable to mislead. But the use of *a* to represent the English *u* sound, marked and emphatic, as when followed by double consonants and occupying the accented syllable of the word, or characterising a strongly pronounced monosyllable. It is *this* use of *a* that is justly objected to as inappropriate and misleading. It is illustrated in such names as *Chambal* (Chumbul), *Mangal* (Mungul), *Sakkar* (Sukkur), *Kach* (Kutch), &c., and in such words as *band-o-bast*, *hadd*, *mandi*, meant to be pronounced

bund-o-bust, hund, mundee. This is a use of *a* which is unsupported, we believe, by any single example of similar usage either in our own or in other languages. It is not, therefore, suited for representing that sound so as to enable general readers to pronounce the words correctly. And, as we know, it actually has in such positions a very different sound. Looking to the English illustrations above given of the short indistinct *a*, (*pillar, abroad, &c.*) it is obvious that for the *a* in each of these words in which it is not initial or final, some other vowel might be substituted, an *e*, a *u*, or even an *o*, without very perceptible effect on the pronunciation. The same in Indian words. The vowel is not distinctive in character. It is merely *vowel*, in a general way, a scrap of vowel sound of a sort of hazy whiteness, as it might be a bit of mixture of all the vowels and none in particular. And the final and initial *a* is the same in character, only it could not well have any of the others put in its place; for none of them, when so thin, can comfortably stand up like *a*, without more support. How different is this loose undefined sound from the distinct strong, characteristic *u* of *bund, chund*, rhyming with the English *fund*; of *lub, shub*, rhyming with English *rub*, and so on. The *u* in these words would be very inadequately represented by any of the other vowels. You could not substitute one of them without perceptible difference in the pronunciation. It is no uncertain sound that the *u* gives in these words. And to say that an *a* in place of it is much the same thing as the familiar short *a* in *aloud*, and *Peckham*, and *Persia*, is to make a heavy demand on the dulness of readers.

In the native languages with which we are concerned it is the same vowel mark, or say the same nominal vowel understood, that occurs in the word *suttee*, and also in the first syllable of *ameer*, and the last syllable of *sikka*. But the sounds of the first and of the other two are as distinct as are those of our *a* in the English words *far*, and *hat*, and *area*. We would never think of attempting to represent these English words in any oriental characters, using the same letter for the English *a* in each case. So neither should we use *a* invariably, as in the Jonesian method, or *u* as in the Gilchristian, to represent an Indian vowel which has different sounds. We should represent the sounds, not the letter.

The advocates of the more appropriately English fashion of rendering the sounds of Indian words do not propose the use of *u* in those places where *a* is the natural representative of the sound according to the common practice of the English language. Gilchrist's awkward use of *u* for this sound, in certain positions, particularly at the ends of words, was at variance with English usage. He used it in order to maintain uniformity in a system of transliteration. It was unadapted for giving English people a

correct guide to the pronunciation of the words in which it was so used, for its appearance was so strange that it raised doubts. Some ridiculous instances of this mis-use of the letter *u* at the end of a word, as adopted by Marshman, are given in the April No. of this Review*; to which illustrations many readers will readily add a recollection of an old Calcutta friend, *The Hurkaru*.

The late Sir Henry Elliot, in the book named at the head of this Article, used the most English mode of representing the sounds of Indian words, and did not adopt the mis-applied use of the letter *u* introduced by Gilchrist. He wrote *Bhoomia*, *Beera*, *Fouteenama*, not *Bhoomiu*, *Beeru*, &c. He uses that method of representing Indian words which, as he says in his Preface, "certainly has the merit of enabling an Englishman to pronounce a word in such a manner as to make it easily comprehended by the natives of Hindoostan." "Sir W. Jones's method," he adds, "is better suited to the learned." And his Glossary has a column giving the words also in this form. But in the leading column the words are spelt and alphabetically ranged according to the ordinary English method; which enables any Englishman to find a word he has heard by reference to the spelling by which he would himself naturally represent it. This is exactly what should be done in the *Indian Gazetteers*, written in the English language, to be consulted by English readers:—the names should be given primarily in the most directly English form, followed by the Jonesian representation for those who require to know the spelling in the Indian characters.

The method adopted by the Government of India is a method of *transliteration*. Now if, in accordance with the remarks made above, we bear in mind the purpose to be served, and the people to be considered, let us ask, is this the right method? Is it necessary, and is it suitable? By far the majority of readers, in India as well as in England, of English publications relating to India, are not concerned to know how the words are spelt in the original languages; but they *are* concerned to know how names are pronounced, and to be able readily to find, in a book of reference, a name which they hear spoken. Let any candid English reader say whether the method adopted by the Government, or the other, would best help him. We take up a recent *Gazette of India* publishing a Bill relating to the North-West Provinces. What is an English reader likely to make of such words as *mukarari*, *pulbandi*, &c.,—of their pronunciation, we mean? The same Bill gives us *khoo*d *khast* or *kadeemee Ryots*, inadvertently spelt in the old way, which few would have much difficulty in pronouncing with tolerable

* Cal. Rev., No. cviii., April 1872, p. 334.

accuracy.* Did these words look too ugly for general readers in their Jonesian dress? With regard to the question of transliteration, in the representation of Indian words for general English readers, let us ask, should we ever think of representing English names in any Indian characters by this system, giving each English letter one uniform representative? We could not, of course. We must let them be represented by different letters in different cases when they are differently pronounced. A system of transliteration is useful for certain purposes and certain persons, but do not let us pretend that, to the general public, it uniformly exhibits the real sounds of the words.†

English people are now pretty familiar with a number of Indian and other oriental words and proper names, and they know them generally in the shape in which they naturally write them when they hear the words. Some have come to us in other and very varied forms, as they came through different channels, old French translations of the Arabian Nights, old books of travels, &c. But it is in familiar English forms that our principal modern acquisitions of this kind have become the property of the English people. They can talk about *loot*, and they have been told about the not extinct cruelties of *thuggee* and the *churruk pooja*; they know what a *punkah* is, and a *coolie*, and a *hookah*, and a *cowree*; they have heard of the valiant *Roostum*, they know where the *Kootub Minar* is, *Dhuleep Singh* lives among them, they have seen the *koh-i-noor*, they have read *Lalla Rookh*, &c. &c. &c. Now put these words into the new form, and let our friends in England see how pretty they look as *lut* (and being *luted*!) *thaggi*, *charak púja*, *pankah*, *kuli*, *húkah*, *kauri*, *Rústam*, *Kútub*, *Dhalip*, *koh-i-núr*, *Lala Rukh*, &c. &c. &c., and let them be told that this is really the proper way of spelling them, which they will have to learn; and that we have been wrong hitherto in putting these words before them in the ridiculously easy and intelligible shape they have been accustomed to.

The readers of Indian history will find some well-known words, and names transformed: *musnud*, *guddee*, *doulut*, become *masnad*, *gadi*, *daulat*; the affixes *poor*, *nuggur*, *gurh*, *gurhee*, *droog*, become *pur*, *nagar*, *garh*, *garhi*, *drug*. *Tippoo* will be *Tipu*, and *Poona Puna*; the Peshwa's Commander-in-Chief *Hurree Punt* will appear as *Hari Pant*; the Goorkhas will be

* Not with entire accuracy; in this system as in the other there is still room for mispronunciation of *kh* and *th*, but not so as to prevent the word being understood.

† We should beware of incau-

tiously charging any system with the laughable misrepresentations of Indian words we sometimes meet with. No system and no teaching will give a man an ear if he has none, or make another accurate who is careless.

Gurkhas, and the Rajpoots *Rajputs*. We see Mooltan beginning to appear as *Multan*, and people will soon be giving it the sound they already give to *Sultan*.* They will have to unlearn some other names of places and people up in that quarter, which they know something about from the past history of the Punjab (*Panjáb* we are told is the right thing) and from the occasional reports they hear of disturbances on that frontier;—Moolraj, Sooruj Koond, Bunnoo and the Bunnoochees, the Thull, the Murrees and Boogtees, the Khuttuks, the Mahsood Wuzeerees, &c, must now become known as *Mulraj*, *Suraj Kund*, *Banu* and the *Banú-chis*, the *Thall*, the *Maris* and *Bugtis*, *Khattaks*, *Mahsúd Waziris*, and so on. When people used to read about the Hindoos and the Indus, these names were very intelligibly distinct. Now they will have the *Hindus* and the *Indus*, and it will be apparent to acute readers in England that the former is only an accidental cockneyfication of the name of the river.

People in England as well as in India who have occasion to dip into Indian official papers, are acquainted with many of our revenue technicalities and other terms, as *usl*, *rubbee*, *khureef*, *beegha*, *tehseel*, *vukeel*, *nuzool*, *kanoongo*, *chowdree*, &c., and they are never likely to mispronounce them if they find them in these forms. They are not quite so safe with *asl*, *rabi*, *kharif*, *bigha*, *tahsil*, *vakil*, *nazul*, *kanungo*, *chaudhri*, &c.

The names of articles of Indian produce and manufacture with which a number of people in England, visitors to the International Exhibitions and others, have become acquainted, as *durree*, *kummul*, *Rampoor chuddur*, *pugree*, *puttoo*, *pushm*, *dosoottee*, *nynsookh*, &c., will not be so readily named when they are labelled *dari*, *kamal*, *Rampur chadar*, *pagri*, *patu*, *pashm*, *nainsukh*, and so on.

There are Indian words identical in sound with English words (not connected at all in meaning); and it seems a piece of needless perversity to give them different vowels from the English words when they are written in English letters. Would an ordinary English reader readily understand, or even believe that *sach*, *andar*, *ham*, *fan*, are really meant to be pronounced exactly like the English *such*, *under*, *hum*, *fun*; that *aur*, *sau*, *baund*, *nau*, represent the sounds of the English *our*, *sow*, *bound*, *now*; that *kul*, *but*, *sut*, *pur*, are to be sounded *cool*, *boot*, *soot*, *poor*; and *pir*, *kil*, *chir*, *dip*, like *peer*, *keel*, *cheer*, *deep*? Does not an English reader naturally say, if they are meant to be pronounced so by us in England, why are they not spelt so? If you wish us *not* to pronounce them rightly, your method is excellent.

* In some English dictionaries the first syllable of this word is marked as accented on

Now we are told that all will become easy bye and bye, when every body has been trained to the new fashion. Perhaps. But why use a system which needs instructions when you have another which needs none? However, people are to be trained, the English people in India first, and through them our friends at home. The consideration of this subject of training to the use of the new system has given rise to a suggestion that a grand opportunity is afforded to the Government of India of reviving and establishing on a sound basis a method of spelling our own language which was unsuccessfully attempted, some years ago, in England. The people of England did not discern its merits. They will be brought to appreciate them now. The *Fonetic Nuz* lived before its time. Its time has now come, and the Indian Government will set it on its feet again, in improved form. If the method adopted for Indian words (it has been reasoned), is really the best mode of representing the sounds of the Indian words, then it would well represent also the sounds of other words. And if we would try it on familiar English words in daily use, we should all soon become accustomed to it, and able to use it easily for reading and spelling Indian words. The practical part of the suggestion, as it has come to us, is that some enterprising Kalkatta publisher should bring out a new fonetic *Kukari Buk*, to be put into the hands of the English ladies in India; under whose influence and guidance we shall be soon all reconciled to the Italian flavour that is to be given to our familar English vowels, in the new mode of serving the old dishes.

Seriously, can we English not be allowed to retain, in the English spellings of Indian names, for ordinary purposes and ordinary readers, the most ordinary usage of the English letters? Educated people have, of course, no great difficulty in apprehending the Jonesian spelling with the help of the key, and in agreeing to call *s a n* sun, and so on, according to a method arbitrarily determined and accepted for certain purposes. And they can use this method, and do use it, for those purposes,—for purposes of scientific precision, and where accuracy in showing the exact spelling of the words in the original languages is important. But no one can honestly say that the spelling really represents to him, or will represent to his countrymen generally, the sounds which it is assumed to represent. Or that for the ordinary purposes for which Indian proper names require to be written, it is important to secure scientific accuracy, and indicate the letters which form the word in the original.

There are purposes for which this is required, as there are purposes for which scientific accuracy of other kinds, and the use of scientific forms of words, are needful; and there are persons whose pursuits or whose duties require the use of those forms for

those purposes. But to maintain a scientific system of transliteration on ordinary occasions, when this precision is not required, would be something like making constant use of terms belonging to the various sciences, in ordinary publications and correspondence; calling, for instance, our trees and flowers by their botanical names, and giving to familiar substances their chemical designations. To do this when the occasion does not require it, would, to the generality of hearers, be a hindrance and not a help. The scientific terms, no doubt, are more precise and accurate; and, to scientific men, they convey that definite idea of the thing spoken of which the purposes of science require. And so with a precise scientific representation of Indian names and other words, for purposes which require this. But should we not think it something more than pedantic, needless, and inappropriate, to use unfamiliar but scientifically accurate, instead of common and generally understood, words, in daily ordinary writing, and in publications dealing with common affairs, and intended for the general public?

We are quite accustomed, in other things, to the use both of simple and familiar expressions in the ordinary business of daily life, and also, at the same time, of scientific language for the initiated, and for technical requirements. The man who writes *Febris* in his hospital returns, and *Ol. Ricin.* and *Pulv. Rhei comp.* in his prescriptions, can say *Fever*, and *Castor Oil*, and *Rhubarb*, in writing a popular Report. He does not reckon it any great condescension to vulgar prejudices, to put the names in the most familiar and readily apprehended form. He would not think of doing any thing else. For special purposes and special persons he uses the technical forms; but in a writing intended for the public he puts things in the way best "understood of the people." If, for certain scientific purposes and scientific men, it is desirable, (as it is,) to put Indian names in a shape belonging to an arbitrary, uniform, recognised system, by which the exact spelling in the original can be correctly exhibited, then to use this method, even though it puts some words in strange shapes, little likely to be understood by the unlearned, is, for these purposes, right and proper. If we must even write names like *Cadrudin* and *Fathgarh* in such papers, yet we know that general readers will much better comprehend *Suddur-ood-deen* and *Futtehgurh*; and this latter form we should adopt in papers for general readers, though the other may be suited for the learned. The chemist gives *laudanum* to the public, and reserves his *tinct. opii.* for the profession. It is, of course, a very different thing, having two ways, a scientific and a popular, of representing the same words. But the principle is the same. The scientific forms, in each case, have their technical purposes to serve; but, for the public, that

which is most readily apprehended is required, not that which is most precise and best adapted for special technical purposes. Let not familiar forms, and facilities which are due to the public,—unlearned and learned alike,—be sacrificed to scientific requirements or quasi-scientific fancies.

We find among the men who are most strong, in different departments of learning, those who most readily recognise the secondary place to be assigned, in general publications, to the demands of the learned,—the precedence to be given to the needs of the far larger public. No one will question the capacity or the the oriental scholarship of Sir Henry Elliot or Sir William Muir. It was not any difficulty, or personal trouble or inconvenience in using the more strictly accurate learned system that prompted their expressed views with regard to the most suitable general mode of representing Indian words. Others there are who see no need for a simple system for general use. They perfectly understand a system of accurate transliteration, they have become used to it in their scientific pursuits, it suits them, they like it, they are persuaded that others can learn it with a little trouble; and with truth they say that it gives a more correct rendering of the exact form of the original words. But, if there is any soundness in our opening remarks, this is not what is wanted. Others again are found willingly to follow in using one of the learned methods, not because they are themselves men of learning, having occasion to hold frequent converse with works in the native languages, for historical or scientific researches, but because the use of this less ordinary mode of spelling implies and stimulates some attention to matters out of the ordinary course, some approach to scientific tendencies. And others use it because they have been told to do so, but without seeing why, or perceiving any greater resemblance to the real sound of the words in this spelling than in the other.

The Government of India, we must now observe, does not go the length of satisfying scientific requirements. A full scientific system of transliteration, with its various marks, has this value, (which is indeed its primary purpose) that the learned, who know and understand the marks, or are furnished with the key, can identify the words in the original tongues, from the mode of exhibiting them in English letters. The Government hesitates to do this. It goes a certain length to meet science, but will not go all the way. This half-and-half system serves neither purpose fully. It does not satisfy the requirements of the scientific few or of the unscientific many;—does not give the learned what they need for learned purposes, nor supply the more simple wants of the general public. Is it not very just and reasonable to say, if you agree to recede so far from a complete scientific system, so that you have abandoned all pretension to meet the wants of those who desire

a representation of the exact form and spelling of the words in the original, would it not be wise to take the further step in the same direction, which would re-establish the claim to meet the ordinary wants of the public, in England as well as in India?

Let our Asiatic Society here, in the yellow Nos. of its Journal, write *çafar*, *Qutbuddin*, *Fath Khan*, &c., which ordinary people would read more easily in the forms *Suffur*, *Kootub-ood-deen*, and *Futteh Khan*. For orientalists and for their purposes the more precise forms, though of strange appearance to the uninitiated, are of special use. They are, to them, as distinctly intelligible and definite in their indications as, to the naturalists, are such names as *Motacilla alba*, *Helix aspersa*, *Solanum tuberosum*, in the blue Nos. of the same Journal. To the vulgar herd it would be more to the purpose to say *wagtail*, and *snail*, and *potato*; but the more precise definitions have their special uses for men of science, by whom they are well understood. Neither the one kind of scientific words nor the other is suited for use in ordinary writings for the unlearned public.

In a *Gazetteer of India* let us have a second column showing the names in exact transliteration, according to an approved method; but in the leading column, in which the names will be found by their alphabetical arrangement, let the simpler forms with English vowels be used. And the same in all other ordinary publications intended for general English readers. So that any of our friends at home to whom our letters, newspapers, reports, &c. &c., are sent, any readers of average intelligence, learned or unlearned, in all broad England, who never heard of *alif*, *be*, and *pe*, and have no key or competent friend at hand, may, without need for any of these helps, read the Indian names as easily and intelligibly as they read the English text.

And now a few words with special reference to the *Indian Gazetteers*. The system of spelling above preferred for common use has this advantage, that it places together those words which have similarly sounded first syllables (by which, for the most part, words are looked for in a book of reference). And this the system of the Government of India does not do. By the use it makes of the same vowels for different sounds, it brings together words not associated by the ear, in virtue of similarity of first syllables; and it separates words which have their first sounds alike. Thus we should, in a *Gazetteer* using the new method, find *Nagpoor* and *Nuggur* together, *Chindwara* and *Cheenee*, *Malda* and *Mullikpoor*, *Palumpoor* and *Pulwul*, *Ban-gunga* and *Bunnoo*, *Seetapoor* and *Sitana*, &c. &c., because in the system in question the first three letters of each of these pairs of words will be the same, though their sound is very different. A person looking for one of these names would not naturally expect to find it among

words having the other initial sound. It is an objection applicable, of course, to dictionaries of the English language. And by the use of one of the methods of representing Indian words, we should avoid it in our Indian dictionaries and Gazetteers, and so facilitate reference to words which in themselves are strange, and in need of any help that can be given in finding them.

Let us put it in this way. A friend in England is told of some one in whom he is interested being at Sukkur, or DumDum, or Deeg, or Noorpoor. If he desire to learn something about these places from a Gazetteer, would he naturally turn to *Sa, Da, Di, Nu*? Is he not likely to be disappointed, and to think that the names are not in the book? For, let us ask ourselves, could he have any expectation of finding the names he looks for, among words having first syllables spelt in these latter forms? We are not speaking of people familiar with India and Indian names, but of ordinarily educated English folk, using their ears and eyes on sounds and spellings in the manner they are most accustomed to. Will even a key in the preface to the book serve their turn?

Let us observe also that in a dictionary in the principal, Indian characters, the confusion above noticed would not occur. The words having first syllables of the same sound would come together and those of dissimilar sound would be apart, each in their own place. *Nuggur* would not be near *Nagpoor*, or *Seetupoor* near *Sitana*.

Is it not a just conclusion that for *Indian Gazetteers* the sensible course followed by Sir Henry Elliot in his Glossary is that which should be adopted? Let us have the scientific and accurate spelling, for the persons and purposes requiring it; and let us have it really, correctly, completely, according to an approved system. But let this be the second form of the name. They are comparatively few who need it, and few the purposes for which it is required. Let the first form of the words, the form according to which they are ranged in English alphabetical order, be adapted to the comprehension of the many. Let it be, as in the "Supplemental Glossary," the form which is in agreement with the most ordinary English pronunciation of the letters, which has, as Sir Henry Elliot says, "the merit of enabling an Englishman to pronounce a word in such a manner as to make it easily comprehended by the Natives of Hindoostan." It is the form according to which an educated Englishman, generally speaking, would naturally write the words on hearing them spoken; the form by which English speaking people, learned and unlearned, can most readily find the word they seek, on reference to the spelling which, to them, represents the sound. And in all ordinary writings and publications let us keep to this latter, the familiar and (to English people) natural form.

The matter is not unimportant. We shall create a still greater repugnance to Indian subjects, at home, and diminish yet further the scanty interest felt in them, if we make Indian names more strange, and less easily read and written.

This seems to be the kind of result at which, if our reasoning is just, we arrive. In ordinary publications for English readers, the most customary use of the English letters, in the popular manner, with uniformity of application, facilitates right pronunciation of words read, and easy representation of words heard; and this without key, or directions, or distinctive marks not in use in our language. The other method requires instructions, requires accents, gives unfamiliar sounds to familiar letters, and thus cannot be used without error or doubt by the uninstructed. Is the general adoption of such a system convenient? Is it expedient? Is it wise? Is it reasonable?

ART. VIII.—INDEPENDENT SECTION.*
OUR COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE
INDIAN POPULATIONS.†

(I).—ITS STATICS.

"In India all the vices operate by which sudden fortune is acquired; in England are often displayed in the very same persons the virtues which dispense hereditary wealth. Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom will find the best company in this nation at a board of elegance and hospitality. Here the manufacturer and husband-man will bless the just and punctual hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasant of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppressions and his oppressors. They marry into your families, they enter into your senate; they ease your estates by loans, they raise their value by demand; they cherish and protect your relations which lie heavy on your patronage, and there is scarcely a house in the kingdom that does not feel some concern and interest that make all reform of our Eastern government appear officious and disgusting, and on the whole a most discouraging attempt. In such an attempt you hurt those who are able to return kindness or to resent injury. If you succeed, you save those who cannot so much as give you thanks. All these things show the difficulty of the work we have on hand, but they show its necessity too. OUR INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS IN ITS BEST STATE A GRIEVANCE."

BURKE.

IN conducting the following examination into the export and import trade of British India, I shall determine, first, its *statics* or its condition at some given period of time; and secondly, its *dynamics* or its development through successive periods. I shall, so to speak, take first a *lateral* and then a *vertical* section of Indian Commerce.

Beginning with the statics I shall examine 1° the export, and 2° the import trade.

There is no text upon which Englishmen connected with India enlarge more frequently or more exultingly in their incessant exhortations towards fearless borrowing and spending, than that of the long array of Indian exports. "Why, India exports every year as much as fifty-seven millions sterling of produce, and in one year, 1864-65 (the zenith of the cotton trade owing to the American war), the sale proceeds of India's export goods touched

* See the Editorial Note at the last page of this *Review*. nancial Department, Calcutta, 1872.

† Trade and Navigation Returns of British India. Published by the Financial Department, Calcutta, 1872.

"the figure of seventy millions sterling." The recital of this vast sum, not less than a fourth of the export trade of Great Britain and Ireland, leaves an impression with reader or listener that India possesses a like proportion of wealth, that India is in possession of fixed capital and of current earnings which bear something like an English ratio to these stupendous outgoings.

That is not so. A large portion of these fifty-seven millions sterling of exports represents sales made under coercion and under all the commercial disadvantage involved in coercion. The goods thus forcibly transferred are the cost of foreign rule; they form the tribute of India to her alien or absentee rulers. India may or may not receive a full equivalent, but whatever conclusion one may form on that question—an entirely separate question,—it cannot undo the actual fact of the tribute. Accordingly, if any one seek to demonstrate that India is prospering under and because of foreign rule, he must make a sufficient deduction on this account from his enumeration of Indian exports, for otherwise he will be committing the fallacy of reiterating the fact of foreign Government as being itself proof of the benefit therefrom.

What then is the cost of foreign rule to India? Let us see how the London Treasury of the Indian Exchequer is filled, and how it is emptied. Let us examine the nature of the "*Home*" or London charges of that Government which rules without being domiciled in India. Let us also range several years for comparison, so as to narrow the risk of incompleteness of view to a minimum or to zero (p. 144, Finance and Revenue Accounts)—

Receipts of the "HOME" or London Treasury.

| | 1862-63 | 1863-64 | 1864-65 | 1865-66 | 1866-67 (11 months) | 1867-68 | 1868-69 | 1869-70 |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| I.—Home Revenues ... | £ 189,056 | £ 424,760 | £ 195,094 | £ 138,367 | £ 109,867 | £ 104,768 | £ 177,436 | £ 194,477 |
| II.—Amount received from Her Majesty's Treasury and other Public Departments.. | 306,938 | 60,232 | 106,881 | 106,565 | 169,575 | 1,253,722 | 5,240,382 | 1,517,373 |
| III.—Supplies from India ... | 6,767,172 | 9,193,416 | 6,934,483 | 7,298,583 | 6,620,505 | 4,220,349 | 3,722,208 | 7,076,760 |
| IV.—Debt incurred ... | ..... | 2,411,000 | ..... | 882,800 | 2,731,900 | 1,224,407 | 1,534,139 | 4,039,412 |
| V.—Indian Railway and other Guaranteed Companies ... | 5,293,610 | 6,135,805 | 3,938,175 | 4,178,935 | 6,780,755 | 9,085,468 | 6,389,084 | 4,793,798 |
| Total ... | 12,556,776 | 18,255,213 | 11,174,633 | 12,605,250 | 16,412,602 | 15,888,714 | 17,063,249 | 17,621,820 |

Let us examine the nature of these several items of Receipts.

The *first* item "*Home Receipts*" represents mere incidental deductions upon vast disbursements, mere casual and infinitesimal sets-off against payments of enormous magnitude.

The *second* item of Receipts headed "*Amount received from H.M's Treasury and other Public Departments*" purports to represent repayment from the English to the Indian Exchequer of certain charges, all of which had been thrown provisionally, and some of which had been fastened absolutely, on the Indian revenues. This is in accordance with a most objectionable system whereby the Indian Exchequer is compelled to conduct Afghan, Persian, Chinese, Abyssinian or other expeditions, and thus in the first instance to bear the whole cost for the time being, and in the second instance to bear a vast proportion of the cost, or it may be the entire cost for good and all. This system is not only iniquitous in principle, but it is also most objectionable in practice, inasmuch as it disperses responsibility and so far evades control. The details of the re-imbursments, so far as these have been disclosed, are set forth in the following Table which will give some idea of the extent to which the Indian is made to minister to the English Exchequer. How little vigilance is exercised on behalf of Indian tax-payers may be surmised from the laxity of that audit (if, indeed, Parliamentary proceedings over Indian budgets may be dignified with the name of auditing), which passes a charge of five or six millions sterling for the Abyssinian Expedition in the lump, and admits charges for a "late" China Expedition so many years after date.

*Details of the second item in the above Table of "HOME" Receipts.
Amount received from Her Majesty's Treasury and other Public Departments.*

| | 1862-63 | 1863-64 | 1864-65 | 1865-66 | 1866-67 (11 months) | 1867-68 | 1868-69 | 1869-70 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| In re-payment of advances in India on account of the emigration of coolies ... | 28,607 | 16,285 | 44,673 | 23,727 | 45,957 | 34,852 | 33,683 | 41,326 |
| Expenses of Madras Troops employed at Labuan ... | 5,225 | 4,917 | 2,869 | 9,086 | 1,177 | 11,187 | 5,216 | 5,622 |
| Out pensioners of Chelsea Hospital... .. | 9,598 | 8,735 | 7,972 | 14,686 | 7,668 | 11,735 | 9,886 | 12,167 |
| Supplies to Her Majesty's ships on the East India station ... | 21,108 | 30,295 | 51,367 | 59,066 | 50,773 | 76,198 | 78,017 | 57,391 |
| Charges of the late China Expedition... .. | 242,400 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 64,000 | 119,750 | ..... | ..... |
| In re-payment of disbursements in England and in India, on account of the Abyssinian Expedition... .. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1,000,000 | 5,113,580 | 1,400,867 |
| TOTAL ... | 306,938 | 60,232 | 106,881 | 106,565 | 169,575 | 1,253,722 | 5,240,382 | 1,517,373 |

Returning to the first Table, I must ask a careful consideration for the very instructive process which is betokened by the *third* class of Home Receipts, namely, "*Supplies from India.*" The process is really this:—The Secretary of State first reckons, with more or less accuracy, the amount which he expects to need for his London payments during the succeeding year, and then he advertises from time to time for tenders of drafts upon India. He wishes to place so or so many millions of Indian money in London, and accordingly he invites those London merchants or bankers trading with the East who may be wishing to place London money in India to compete with each other for his drafts upon India. He fixes a certain reserved or minimum rate of so many pence in London for each rupee which he will make over in India, and he invites merchants to bid against each other by tender at or over this rate. Those whose tenders are highest and are accepted, pay the stipulated amount of gold, &c., into the Bank of England, to the credit of the Secretary of State, and they receive his drafts upon India. These drafts are then sent by post to the mercantile correspondents in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, as the case may be, are there presented to and cashed by the Government at the Presidency Treasuries, and the proceeds are devoted to the purchase of exports from India consigned to the original London merchants or to some creditors of these London merchants.

Thus, the Secretary of State, in return for so many millions of pounds sterling needed for his London disbursements, finds English merchants in so many krors of rupees at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. How does the Secretary of State do so? He orders the Governor-General to empty Indian Treasuries to that amount, and to fill them again out of Indian taxes. These drawings of the Secretary of State form a grotesque chapter in the English Gospel of Free Trade, those glad tidings which shall be unto all peoples; but I reserve this subject for the dynamics or historical review of the compulsory export trade of India. For the present I shall only observe that the rates of exchange obtained from time to time by the Secretary of State vary according to his financial position for the time being. For he is the most important negotiator with the East, and his cash in hand or his cash in immediate prospect are the most important items in any exchange calculation of European business with the East. Further the rates vary according to the commercial vicissitudes of the particular time, for example, the existing rates of discount English and Indian; the scarcity or abundance of floating money within immediate call in England or India; the condition of general mercantile credit at the time; the past results and the present prospects of the Indian trade outward and homeward; the relative proportion

and the intrinsic character of the imports into and the exports from India under actual negotiation at the time being.

The *fourth* heading of Receipts of the Home Treasury is that deplorable item of "*debt incurred*," that register of millions after millions of money which are borrowed and spent without any definite notion whatsoever as to who is to pay the interest charge, and how long or wherewithal, and who is to re-pay the principal. It represents only a part, not the whole, of the recurring entry of our chronic deficit, and in so far it forms the periodical record of our failure, the annual condemnation of our empire in India.

The *fifth* and last item of Receipts entitled "*Indian Railways and other Guaranteed Companies*" calls for some explanation. It has been the practice with those guaranteed Companies, whose interests as Indian mortgagees are watched by the London Directorates, to raise money *as they find convenient* within their statutory powers of borrowing, and pay it into the credit of the Secretary of State at the Bank of England, whereupon they at once acquire a claim to the interest thereon. They expend the same, about two fifths in England and three-fifths in India, *at their discretion* as to progress. In all these arrangements these Directorates possess the initiative, which means the substantial, control, for the nominal post-audit of the Government is practically futile. These Directorates, acting for the Railway mortgagees who are almost all resident in England, have the real control of their incomings and outgoings, but it is the people of India (who are the nominal mortgagors) that bear the real responsibility. Now, of this Railway capital thus raised and paid into the Bank of England, about two-fifths, as I said, is disbursed in England on rails, rolling-stock, coal, freight, &c., in that enormous patronage which these obscure Directorates enjoy within the privacy of their London parlours. The remainder, say three-fifths, (for the proportion of Railway capital raised in India is infinitesimal), is spent by the Secretary of State on the Home or London charges of the Indian Government. Thus, the Secretary of State spends these Railway balances in London, and orders the Governor-General to place a corresponding amount at the disposal of the Railway employes in India, and thereafter to replenish the Indian Treasuries out of debt charged to India.

The Railway accounts, unlike those drawings technically so called of whose fluctuating rates I have just spoken, are adjusted at a fixed rate of exchange, namely, 1s. 10d. per rupee or nominal 2s., that is to say, at a loss of one penny on the shilling or 8½ per cent. In other words for every £100 paid by a Guaranteed Railway Company into the Secretary of State's Treasury, and spent by him in London, the Indian people are required to make

over £108-10, or more correctly Rs. 1,090-14-6 in India. Over and above this the Indian people are obliged to find the Companies in land free of charge, also in a fixed minimum rate of dividend, and in many other comfortable privileges. How far this state of things is in accordance with the professed principles of free trade, and with the moral sense of mankind as to the proper responsibility of capitalists,—I shall not now stop to enquire. The loss by exchange alone which has thus been charged to India during the last twenty years, amounts now to about £4,000,000. The aggregate loss on the guarantee of annual interest amounts now to about £17,000,000. In former days it was often put forth that the loss by exchange, amounting, as I have said, to now some £4,000,000, would ultimately be recouped by a converse gain on re-exchange when the railways would come to repay their subsidy of guaranteed interest, say £17,000,000, and when the railways would come to share with the Government their surplus profits.

Profits ! Surplus profits ! on Indian Railways !

Such, then, are the ways and means by which the "*Home*" Treasury of the Indian people in London is annually filled. Let us see now the nature of the charges upon which that Treasury is annually emptied. (P. 145, Finance and Revenue Accounts.)

Disbursements of the "HOME" or London Treasury.

| | 1862-63 | 1863-64 | 1864-65 | 1865-66 | 1866-67 (11 months) | 1867-68 | 1868-69 | 1869-70 |
|--|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| I.—Charges on the Revenues of India except guaranteed interest ... | 5,132,484 | 5,202,390 | 4,997,495 | 5,119,552 | 6,814,469 | 6,957,187 | 8,481,277 | 9,043,949 |
| II.—Gross guaranteed interest on the capital of Railway and other Companies ... | 2,166,170 | 2,457,075 | 2,686,869 | 2,897,849 | 3,043,678 | 3,494,317 | 3,894,383 | 4,138,150 |
| III.—Payments in England included as charges in the Indian accounts ... | 967,833 | 716,944 | 833,736 | 1,442,685 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| IV.—Disbursements in England in respect of sums received or recoverable in India ... | 1,155,102 | 1,112,728 | 1,115,565 | 1,209,149 | 11,151,128 | 2,367,812 | 1,590,876 | 1,127,899 |
| V.—Debt discharged ... | 1,756,200 | 7,968,500 | 186,500 | 28,700 | 150,000 | 500 | 502,500 | 501,300 |
| VI.—Indian Railway and other Guaranteed Companies ... | 1,863,788 | 1,450,212 | 2,035,850 | 3,003,426 | 3,973,328 | 4,225,045 | 2,301,169 | 2,897,278 |
| VII.—Special disbursements [on account of the Abyssinian Expedition] ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 109,624 | 100,071 | 46,743 |
| TOTAL ... | 13,041,577 | 18,907,849 | 11,856,015 | 13,701,361 | 15,132,603 | 17,154,485 | 16,870,276 | 17,755,319 |

The nature and the magnitude of these several items call for serious reflection. India, it will be seen, is required to maintain an army of such a strength as to be able at any time to lend a military force in China or Abyssinia or wherever British prestige, that is to say the interests of British Commerce, may seem to be menaced. It is futile to pretend that Britain makes full payment to India for this hire of Indian troops if she pays, (when she does pay at all,) the wages and the food of the regiments for the few months when she takes over their services. A veritable refund of cost to India would include not only charges for the time being but also a heavy charge for previous cost of organisation and for subsequent cost of pension list. No doubt Mr. Gladstone was quite right when he made rejoinder to Mr. Fawcett about the Abyssinian expedition money, that *per contra* the British Exchequer received no adequate reimbursement from India for the services of the British army and navy. The fact is, the English dominion of India is a waste of power injurious to the English tax-payer as well as to the Indian. At the same time, inasmuch as the British tax-payer has the option of terminating the arrangement, while the Indian tax-payer although the poorer has no choice whatsoever in the matter, the former deserves little pity for his own folly, but the latter merits the deepest sympathy for *his* helpless plight.

The London, or as they are significantly called the "*Home*" charges of the absentee Government of India, amount at present in nett figures to no less than £13,000,000 a year. In order to understand what these and like enumerations of Indian taxation really denote, one must consider that, whatever may be their potential capacity, yet an acre of Indian soil does actually yield not more but less food and less raiment than an acre of English soil does. When one translates rupees into pounds, one must also make a consideration for the poverty of India similar to that which was indicated in the following words by that great Englishman of our time to whom alone of our living countrymen posterity will award the name of statesman. "I would ask the House," said John Bright in 1853, "to imagine that all steam-engines and all applications of mechanical power were banished from this country (Great Britain); that we were utterly dependent upon mere manual labour. What would you think if the Chancellor of the Exchequer, under such circumstances endeavoured to levy the same taxation which is now borne by the country? From one end of India to the other, with very trifling exceptions, there is no such thing as a steam-engine; but this poor population without a steam-engine, without anything like first-rate tools, are called upon to bear, I will venture to say, the very heaviest taxation under which any people ever suffered

“with the same means of paying it. Yet the whole of this
“money, raised from so poor a population, which would in India
“buy four times as much labour, and four times as much of the
“productions of the country as it would obtain in England, is
“not enough to keep the establishments of the Government;
“for, during the last sixteen years the Indian Government has
“borrowed £16,000,000 to pay the dividends to the proprietors in
“England.” When Mr. Bright uttered these words of rebuke,
the taxation of British India was only £28,000,000. That taxation has since “*risen*,” which being interpreted means that taxation has since been painfully screwed up to £49,000,000, and still it is not enough.

But this consideration of the difference of effectual monetary power of the rupee in India and the florin in England makes the problem still more difficult to solve. This other and all but irresoluble function makes the quantity still more difficult to grasp. In order to give some idea of what £13,000,000 *a year* of “Home” charges really means to the Indian people, I must have recourse again to that same solitary English statesman of our day. He was speaking, as his earnestness will of itself show, to an audience more worthy than the loungers of the House of Commons.

“I believe that I understate the sum when I say that, in the
“pursuit of this will-o’-the-wisp (the liberties of Europe and
“the balance of power), there has been extracted from the industry
“of the people of this small island [in the 17th, 18th and 19th
“centuries] no less an amount than £2,000,000,000 sterling.
“I cannot imagine how much £2,000,000,000 is, and therefore
“I shall not attempt to make you comprehend it. I presume it is
“something like those vast and incomprehensible astronomical
“distances with which we have lately been made familiar; but
“however familiar, we feel that we do not know one bit more
“about them than we did before. When I try to think of that
“sum of £2,000,000,000, there is a sort of vision passes before
“my mind’s eye. I see your peasant labourer delve and plough,
“sow and reap, sweat beneath the summer’s sun, or grow prematurely old before the winter’s blast. I see your noble mechanic, with his manly countenance and his matchless skill,
“toiling at his bench or his forge. I see one of the workers
“in our factories in the North, a woman, a girl it may be,
“gentle and good, as many of them are, as your sisters are,
“I see her intent upon the spindle, whose revolutions are so
“rapid that the eye fails altogether to detect them, or watching
“the alternating flight of the unresting shuttle. I turn again to
“another portion of your population, which, ‘plunged in mines,
“forgets a sun was made,’ and I see the man who brings up from

"the secret chambers of the earth the elements of the riches
"and greatness of his country. When I see all this, I have
"before me a mass of produce and wealth which I am no more
"able to comprehend than I am that £2,000,000,000 of which
"I have spoken; but I behold in its full proportion the hideous
"error of your Governments, whose fatal policy consumes in some
"cases a half, never less than a third, of all the results of that
"industry which God intended should fertilise and bless every
"home in England, but the fruits of which are squandered
"in every part of the surface of the globe, without producing the
"smallest good to the people of England."

Those military expeditions in Europe, for which the English people have been thus burdened with annual taxes and loaded with perpetual debt, corresponded many of them in the profligacy of their origin and the wastefulness of their management to those expeditions and annexations in India, Afghanistan, Persia, China, and Abyssinia which have resulted in a debt of £100,000,000, charged for the present to the populations of India. The former device of resorting to warfare in Europe for out-door relief to the British aristocracy, and the later device of resorting to warfare in Asia for rates-in-aid to the British plutocracy, both belong to that same system of government or conspiracy in the interests of a caste of birth and a hierarchy of wealth which has been worthily and frequently rebuked by our living tribune of the people. "The age of chivalry has gone, and the age of sophists, economists, and calculators has succeeded," but there has been one public man among us worthy of the country of Cromwell, one from whom no metaphysics about wages-fund, supply and demand, nor all the other quackery of a pretended science could shroud the hearts of living men that labour and are heavy laden. If the language which Mr. Bright has adopted for England could be suitably translated into its Indian equivalent, we should be enabled to form some adequate conception of what £13,000,000 a year of Indian taxes expended in London really denotes to the Indian populations. But it would need a master-mind like this own to transpose the key of his regret over poverty in England to the deeper tones of a lamentation over misery in India.

The young men of our time, who have hardly known of John Bright except as the Right Honourable member of a Cabinet, will find it difficult to form any adequate conception of the envious rage with which he was assailed, day after day and year after year, at the instance of an effete patriciate and a demoralised plutocracy. For was he not the impious Sudra wretch, the *novus homo* who, having no ancestry to speak of and no university degree at all, had, nevertheless, presumed to reat statecraft as if it were not, indeed, a mysterious lore reserved

for Brahmans and for other twice-born castes? If the young men of our time would know, as in view of the impending times of our national trouble they certainly ought to know, what is the kind of treatment that a statesman must be prepared to face at the hands of a press shameless because anonymous, then let them look back among other things at those weekly summaries of the views of good society exhibited in the cartoons and lampoons upon John Bright and Abraham Lincoln that shock the casual explorer of old volumes of *Punch*. But there is no need to go so far. Have we not all heard it with our ears last year when a few carpenters and masons gave Paris such a government as Paris had never enjoyed before? * How convulsed was all good society, fashionable, castellated and coroneted society, throughout Europe, when those Parisian artisans presumed even to penetrate the very mysteries, the *inania arcana* of finance itself, and administered with an economy and a success to which Mr. Gladstone or Sir Richard Temple can never dare to aspire! And yet the highest official pay under that Commune of imperishable renown was only Rs. 200 a month, £240 a year. In our own coming season of English tribulation with its reckoning of £200,000,000 of discredited Indian Securities, when the helm of the State shall have fallen from the incompetent hands of rhetorical drivellers, may the ranks of the English people yield a ruler with the fearlessness of Delescluze, and a financier with the rectitude of Jourde, heroic statesmen with a single eye to duty, who in the hour of our sore need will care as little for calumny as did Abraham Lincoln and John Bright.

Putting aside the verbose metaphysics of political economy about exchanges, we come upon this solid fact. What actually defrays these annual "Home" charges of £13,000,000 is that portion of each season's industry in India which has to be deported to England or to some customer of England, in order to procure an acquittance of this annual demand upon India made by the Queen of England. A compulsory forestalment of £13,000,000 a year in an export business of £57,000,000 is surely a peculiarity which deserves careful attention. Further,

* It will be long before Parliamentary Government at either Westminster or Versailles yield any reform so worthy as the rasure of the Column Vendôme. That solemn act of national purification, in fulfilment of the prophetic command of Comte, has had no parallel in the world's history since the time when King Josiah, making good those words of the Elijahs that had been

the laughing stock of Ahabs and Jezebels, but at the same time shocking all the well-bred and dilettante society of the day throughout the fashionable quarter of Jerusalem, tore down the artistic altar to Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and the neighbouring altar to Ashtoreth the abomination of Sidon, "lust hard by hate."

let it be considered that Indian producers have now-a-days no other staples of industry, no other means of discharging their annual payments than agricultural, raw, unmanufactured, bulky produce. Let it be considered also that the assessment of Home Charges is fixed by the Secretary of State, and that the place of discharge is London; and consequently that Indian tax-payers have to limit their choice of staples to such produce of their soil, as will, after a long voyage, be acceptable in England or in some foreign country indebted to England.

Here my reader will have anticipated me in bethinking himself of other compulsory exports from India besides those which represent the Secretary of State's annual and increasing lien. The English officials, like the English Government of India, have their home out of India, and they also have their private "Home Charges." A large portion of official pay drawn in India out of Indian taxes is necessarily remitted and spent out of India, and this practically constitutes a further drain upon whatever produce is harvested every year in India. These English consumers may or they may not render a full equivalent to the Indian producers. That is a separate question,* and no answer to that can affect the actual fact of the consumption itself.

Is there any possibility of estimating the amount of this further drain on Indian industry? There are figured estimates which purport to assess both directly and indirectly the whole of that drain on her resources which India has to suffer, because she is governed by aliens and absentees. Were it not for such estimates, there are many people who would never appreciate the difficulties of the Indian situation, nor obtain definiteness to ideas and misgivings otherwise misty. Apart from this service which these estimates confer, they have little to commend them for intrinsic accuracy.

The standard of measure, as I shall by and by show, is utterly inadequate. Yet it does help to indicate that there is a difficulty at all to be solved, and therefore I proceed to quote one or two of the more carefully considered estimates.

First of all I take an estimate framed in 1868 by Mr. Robert Knight, Editor of the *Indian Economist*, an estimate which was published in Vol. II. of the East India Association's Journal, "*England's Financial Relations with India*," page 254.

"Lastly, India, from the double misfortune of being at once a poor country, and a country governed by strangers whose

* In Dr. Congreve's "India," 1857, and also a brief exposition of the (Trübner & Co.) will be found a demonstration of the fact that English consumers do not render an adequate equivalent to Indian producers, general nature of the reform which ought to be instituted by Great Britain towards India.

“ administration is not only very costly but marked by all the evils
 “ of *absenteeism*, has been unable to construct her railway system
 “ out of indigenous capital, but has had to borrow three-fourths of it
 “ (£70,000,000) at 5 per cent. The result is that she has now to
 “ remit £3,500,000 of produce every year to this country [Eng-
 “ land] as interest to her railway creditors. You will not suppose
 “ me to be complaining of this for a moment. I am simply
 “ explaining her position : you will see at a glance how greatly
 “ better her position would have been if she had had capital
 “ enough to build her railways out of her own resources : and
 “ she would have had it but for the Home Charges. And the
 “ general result of all this is—that whereas the total *annual*
 “ *drain* upon her resources thirty years ago was estimated at
 “ £5,000,000 a year (Sir C. Trevelyan’s evidence before the Lords’
 “ Committee, 1840), it is now not less than £16,000,000 a year,
 “ thus :—

| | |
|--|-------------|
| “ 1. Home Charges [London expenditure of the | £ |
| “ Indian Government] | 6,500,000 |
| “ 2. Private Remittances, &c. [<i>i.e.</i> , of English em- | |
| “ ployés in India] | 5,000,000 |
| “ 3. Interest upon Anglo-Indian debt which is held | |
| “ in Britain | 1,000,000 |
| “ 4. Interest guaranteed to Railway Shareholders | 3,500,000 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total ... | £16,000,000 |

“ That is to say, before India can now import an ounce of silver,
 “ or a ton of iron, or a yard of piece goods, or a pound of copper,—
 “ all vital necessities to her,—she must ship year by year
 “ £16,000,000 of her produce to England to meet our present stand-
 “ ing claim upon her. Until this annually recurring drain has been
 “ met she cannot import a sixpence worth of anything, let her
 “ necessities be what they may.”

The paper setting forth this estimate of the drain upon India was read at a meeting of the East India Association with Sir Henry Rawlinson, one of the Members of the Home Council, in the chair. It was subjected to the severest scrutiny at the time, but was not substantially impugned either as to the figures, so far as the figures went, or as to the general principle of the reckoning. It was afterwards noticed with official commendation by Sir Stafford Northcote, then Secretary of State for India (Journal, Association, April 1868.)

The second estimate which I shall cite is one framed in 1871, by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a Parsi gentleman, who at that time was Secretary to the same Association. The gist of it is as follows :—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| | £ |
| 1. Home Charges of the Secretary of State ... | 7,000,000 |
| 2. Interest on Railway Stock ... | 4,000,000 |
| 3. Private Remittances of English employés, say, 2,500 civilians covenanted and uncove- nanted, 5,000 military officers, 60,000 pri- vate soldiers in receipt of about £9,000,000, pay. Also some minor items ... | 5,000,000 |

Total annual drain upon India ... £16,000,000

The paper setting forth this estimate was read and discussed in two meetings of which Sir Charles Trevelyan, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, afterwards Secretary of the British Treasury, Governor of Madras and Finance Minister of India, was Chairman. The paper seems to have elicited some murmuring at the meetings, and a good deal of hostile criticism in the Anglo-Indian press. But the general principle of the figures, so far as they went, was not successfully impugned. It was suggested, indeed, that these views as coming from a native of India savoured of sedition and might be dangerous, the very same silly argument which we have all heard so often advocated for silence about absenteeism and about crushed out manufactures in Ireland, as if, forsooth, it were the discussions about hardships and not the hardships themselves that lead to political outrages.

The grand conclusion to which Mr. Knight and Mr. Naoroji led up their reasoning was this : that the Government ought to borrow more of London money for Indian public works, so as to enable India to recruit from a drain which otherwise must ultimately exhaust her. In other words what they urged is to pile further mortgage upon that existing debt which already burdens India so heavily. Mr. Knight and Mr. Naoroji alluded to the spectre of Indian famine; but those loans, which they were unwise enough to solicit in greater profusion, would certainly aggravate and not relieve the starvelings of India, for their ultimate and sole nett result would be to divert further field produce from consumption in India to consumption in England, in order to defray the new interest charges coming due in London. There is not one of our public works in India but costs more than it yields.

These, then, are instances of the direct method of estimating by a monetary standard, the actual cost in which English rule stands India. I proceed to describe another, an indirect, attempt to measure the annual drain upon India. The method in this case is to set all the aggregates of exports or sales from India for a long period of years against all the aggregates of imports into or purchases by India of the same period of time, and to deduce from these the approximate amount of the business which,

it is supposed, would not have occurred, but for the English rule of India.

Now, this process is certainly less faulty than those other processes which we have just been examining. For spread as it is over a longer period of time, it approaches more nearly to the only scientific process in such cases, that of sociology, or the method of enquiring according to the entirety as opposed to the process of political economy or the method of enquiry by the severalty.*

The attempt to estimate the cost of English rule by this process of analysing the Custom House statistics of British India, although it also is defective, as I shall presently show, is yet suggestive even in its defects; and, in any case, it is instructive to those who have been accustomed to rely on political economy as a competent solution of such problems.

The process is as follows:—

When a series of Indian Customs' Returns is subjected to examination, it is discovered that there is ordinarily a large excess of exports over imports; or in other words, that India, unlike any other country, apparently sells more than she buys. In any other country the figures of imports exceed the figures of exports, and the difference may be taken to indicate, though not really to measure, the profit which that country secures upon its share of the world's business. Whence then the peculiar shortcoming in the case of India? The answer, a stereotyped answer, is as follows:—

“Such a hiatus is natural in a commerce between a primitive people and an advanced people. India is not only a country inhabited by people of primitive, simple habits, with comparatively few wants, but it is also destitute of silver-mines, and therefore, may reasonably be expected to require and to obtain bullion instead of manufactured goods in return for so much of its own exports as are not balanced by its imports of foreign wares. Now, this, in actual fact, is the precise condition of Indian commerce.”

* The distinction will be appreciated by every one who has any acquaintance with the elementary principles of sound biology. The biologist who has learnt from Bichat or Broussais the futility of such metaphysical entities as the vital principle and so forth (our professional dissertations about cholera and cat-the disease in India are full of them), will readily understand how illusory are the similar metaphysics of political economy about prices, rent supply and demand, &c. As for those men

who have acquired no knowledge of the biological laws of the individual organism, they are no more competent to expound the sociological laws of the social organism, than would be that pretender who should attempt to expound astronomy without ever having learnt mathematics, and who should resort, like the Ptolemaic enquirers, to such metaphysical deductions as that of “the planets moving necessarily in a circle, because, forsooth, of a certain innate perfection in the circular figure.”

Accordingly, it is often asserted deliberately, even by responsible officials, that the excess of merchandise exported from India over the merchandise imported into India is liquidated in silver. That is not really the case. Between the spring of 1834, at the termination of the Company's China monopoly, and the spring of 1871, the registered exports from India *inclusive of bullion* have amounted to 1057 millions sterling. (Commercial Statistics, page 191.) During the same period the registered imports into India *also inclusive of bullion* have amounted to 901 millions sterling. Thus even the official returns admit that India's business with the rest of the world, the most part of which has been transacted immediately with England, and all of which has been powerfully impelled by influence from England, has resulted in India's incomings falling short of her outgoings by 156 millions sterling. In other words, India trading with the world, and chiefly with England has for the last 36 years been making over by sales more than she has been able to recover by purchases to the amount of $4\frac{1}{3}$ millions sterling a year. If this really represents a process of *voluntary* exchange as between India and England, in accordance with the description of our economists and officials, it may well remind us of another episode of commerce as between Asiatic and European, and like that also it calls for a good deal of theological interposition by way of explanation, and I therefore recommend the subject in both aspects, that of theology and that of political economy, to Mr. Gladstone's congenial mind.

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσαντε, καθ' ἵππων αἷξαντε
 χεῖράς τ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην καὶ πιστώσαντο.
 Ἐνθ' αὖτε Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς
 ὃς πρότι Τυδεΐδην Διομήδεα τεύχε' ἄμειβεν
 χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.

But putting aside all theology and in particular Mr. Gladstone's special postulate of England's divinely constituted trusteeship over India, ordinary men of plain understanding will remark that the annual exports from India show only what India has made over absolutely, whereas much of the imports represents debt forcibly imposed upon, not earnings freely acquired, by India. Nor is this all. Those who have attempted to gauge the drain on Indian resource by balancing the exports against the imports insist on adding as a surcharge to the exports the nett amount of enfaced rupee paper which, at the close of the period under review, has been outstanding on the London register of Indian debt. On the 31st March 1869,* this amount was £16,000,000. According, then, to such

* I am not aware of the figures on 31st March 1871.

estimates this outstanding amount, being debt, must have previously appeared in one shape or another among imports into the Indian harbours, but on their way out of India they must have escaped registration by the Customs Department, inasmuch as they were then only book debts or paper securities transferred inside of envelopes through the Post Office. The economists who compile these tables assure us that the accounts of exported outgoings and imported incomings, after being thus purged by adjustments of this sort, will show approximately a residuum of exchanges truly spontaneous and no longer compulsory, a residuum, therefore, available for treatment according to the assumptions of what they are pleased to call their science.

Estimates of this kind have, as I said, a certain degree of utility, but they are necessarily defective. The phenomena of English intercourse with India are moral as well as material; and whether moral or material they are too inextricably interwoven to be measurable by any enumeration of bales and hogsheads. Publicists who confine themselves to such incommensurate methods of treating social phenomena commit the same error as Mr. Bruce the explorer of the Nile would have committed, if he had tried to explain the phenomena of cow bleeding by balancing so many ounces and grains of fibrine, serum, &c., withdrawn against so many pounds of grass and water taken in by the cow. Writers like Mr. Knight, or Dr. Hunter, who follow up mere monetary arguments according to political economy about our Indian affairs, and who seek to remedy famine in India by more borrowing from London, commit the same error as Mr. Bruce would have done if he had also urged on the Abyssinians that there was nothing like a sharp lancet to staunch a bleeding.

For my own part I reject a mere monetary canon as being utterly incommensurate with the Indian question. Even if I accepted this as sufficient, I could not but remark on the extreme and hopeless complexity of a figured calculation with far-reaching deductions on this side and intricate surcharges on that. Moreover, when the economist has exhausted all his devices over both the sides of the equation, he never succeeds after all in resolving that unknown quantity which he seeks to attain. For the data which he needs, and which he therefore naïvely assumes, namely, the insularity of individual existence on the one hand, and on the other hand the freedom of exertion on the part of the millions of natives concerned, are actually negatived in the very statement of his case. The hypotheses which he feigns, do not in reality cover the actual facts whether inclusively or exclusively, and his conclusions are therefore as visionary as his premises. These attempts to strike balances between England and India with figures gross here and sums nett there, dealing now with

mortgage capital imported and now with mortgage interest exported, are surely at variance with the sound logic of practical exigencies as set forth in the universal experience of ordinary life. Would a banker ever depart in this way from the method of the entirety and plunge into the method of severalty? Would he consent to recast the figures of transactions already finished? Would he consent to blot out gross entries here and substitute nett entries there? Would he recast a ledger and a journal long ago closed so as to make it accord with some retrospective hypothesis? Yes: there have been banks for which such operations have been necessary. But these banks were in liquidation, and their directors were on their trial.

By these several tentative estimates I have indicated the general nature, but I have not and could not have furnished an exact numerical measure, of the influence of English rule upon Indian commerce. I come now to examine the actual nature of the several staples of export from India. I take the latest year for which statistics are available, namely, 1870-71 (page 203, Trade and Navigation Blue Book):—

| Article. | Value: |
|--|------------|
| | £ |
| Coffee | 809,701 |
| Cotton, raw | 19,460,899 |
| Cotton goods, including twist and yarn | 1,410,013 |
| Indigo | 3,192,503 |
| Grain, Rice | 4,146,638 |
| „ Wheat, &c. | 322,356 |
| Hides and Skins | 2,020,857 |
| Jute, raw | 2,577,552 |
| Opium | 10,783,863 |
| Seeds | 3,522,305 |
| Silk, raw | 1,351,346 |
| Sugar and Sugarcandy | 295,076 |
| Wool, raw | 670,647 |
| Other articles of merchandise | 4,768,069 |
| <hr/> | |
| TOTAL MERCHANDISE | 55,331,825 |
| TREASURE | 2,220,765 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total Exports | 57,552,590 |

Now, upon glancing even cursorily over these details of the boasted 57½ millions sterling of exports, one cannot help noticing that opium alone figures for 10¾ millions, nearly a fifth of the whole exports of the empire. This certainly represents a vast revenue for the alien governors of India. But it forms no proof

of welfare nor disproof of hardship secured by the governors for the governed of India, when the welfare or the hardship of the governed is the very question in issue. I heard Mr. Grant Duff in a recent budget-speech emphatically praise this opium revenue as a splendid estate for India, and I felt the degradation of my fellow-countrymen to be complete when I heard this high official (from whom, unlike to Sir Charles Wood, 'Heaven had not withheld the gift of articulate utterance') finally exult over the magnitude of British concerns in Asia as a consolation for British inaction during a supreme crisis of oppression in Europe. Magnitude of Indian concerns ! Magnitude also of Indian deficits !

Here are some of the drawbacks to India's "splendid estate" in opium :

First, the two millions sterling that are devoted every year to opium in Behar are not private means adventured at private risk. They are partly the proceeds of the salt poll-tax, paid possibly by wretches whose deaths by starvation in the following year will be attributed, forsooth, to a casualty in the harvest ; they are partly the proceeds of the enormous justice-taxes of stamps ; partly the proceeds of other taxes ; and all of them are wrung from scanty earnings. It is with these sums that an omnipotent Chancellor backed by 200,000 bayonets enters into competition with the petty chandlers and hucksters of the village booths in Behar in their struggles to earn a livelihood by their advances for the cultivation of other staples of agriculture than the poppy. Let the condition of Behar cultivators be imagined from the miserable fact that advances have to be made at all on such a scale at every seed time. This is not the only curious feature of the glorious gospel of English Free Trade for India as administered at the opium agencies of Behar and Benares. The opium agents of Government exercise a summary jurisdiction, and are not subordinate to the Civil Courts in their adjustments with the heavily indebted cultivators. Burke's description of the procedure over the poppy holds good to this day. "The inability of the cultivators to keep accounts places them at the discretion of the agents of the supreme power to make their balances what the agents please, and these agents can recover the balances not by legal process but by seizure of the cultivators' goods and imprisonment of their persons. One and the same dealer makes the advance, values the return, states the account, passes the judgment, and executes the process." True, the summary jurisdiction is said to be seldom enforced, but the power is carefully provided by statute. The attitude of Government to the cultivators of the poppy is liberality tempered by a discretionary prerogative of distress. The system may be unavoidable or it may be admirable, but at

least it should not be tinselled over with the mockery of Free Trade phraseology.

A *second* drawback to this "splendid estate of opium" consists in the application of taxes to displace food grain from the most fertile spots of the fertile territory of Behar and Malwa. These are provinces which have suffered most severely from dearth and famine in recent years. In the Parliamentary Blue-Book on the Moral and Material Progress (!) of India during the year 1868-69, prominent mention is made of the aggravation to the terrible famine of Rajputana caused by the extent of poppy cultivation in Malwa. I may as well anticipate any sophistical evasions on this subject by pointing out that the people of the feudatory territories, thus in fact brought under official review, are our subjects. We are responsible for them. We should certainly not hesitate to enforce obedience from them. We take care to secure the lion's share of the opium profits by our political and fiscal system of passes and pass duties on opium in Central and Western India.

A *third* mischief of the "splendid estate in opium" is the chronic disorder to which the finances of India are subjected through the spasmodic fluctuations of that branch of the revenue. The proceeds of a good year are spent to the full without any reserve being put aside; for the system of so called cash balances of revenue, consisting as they do, mainly of borrowed money, does not deserve the name of a reserve. The consequence is that in a bad year the exchequer is left to shift for ways and means as best it can, with a scale of expenditure and establishments already aggrandised by the profuse habits of previous plethora. The neglect to provide a reserve extends not only to each financial year by itself, but to the entire series of years. The opium revenue is doomed. It will succumb either to a gust of popular feeling among the cultivators as to remuneration for the poppy; or, more probably, it will crumble away before a pressure of popular feeling and of Government policy in China. No campaign in behalf of British commerce in China will then be able to retrieve the opium revenue of the English Government of India. No farther war of compulsory debauchery will add another to the oriental disgraces of the English Government. Never again will a Napoleon intrigue for the Jesuit vote at the rural *plébiscite*, nor reach out the hand of a corrupt dynasty in France to that of a corrupt plutocracy in England for a joint propaganda of Christianity and opium in China. The policy of "*commerce united with and made to flourish by war*" may continue to be blazoned on the Guildhall of London town, but it has been irrevocably condemned by the proletariates of France and England. It would be as much as crown, lords, and commons are worth to wage another opium campaign in China.

Of the moral damage inflicted by our opium policy, I shall not now speak. The subject is too momentous to be treated of as an episode in the enumeration of exports and imports.

As regards the other staples, besides opium, of the Indian export trade, I defer the examination of these until I come to the Dynamics. Meanwhile there are a few general considerations about Indian exports which deserve to be noticed under the present subject of the Statics of Indian Commerce.

The enumeration of two score and seventeen millions sterling of Indian exports,—a quarter of the exports of the United Kingdom, as recited in an Indian budget-speech—seems to suggest, and is meant to suggest, a sense of ample security for loans. For it is implied that India possesses a proportionate amount of invested capital, corresponding to that wonderful accumulation of the labour of past and present generations which England enjoys in the railways, the roads, the bridges, the pavements, the drains, the water-works, the lighthouses, the quays, in fact the entire social plant of England. But it is a fatal error to infer, as many do from the table of Indian exports as collated with the table of English exports, that the accumulated resource or the earning capacity of India corresponds in any such ratio to the accumulated resource or the earning capacity of England. Consider for a moment how vast an amount of private personal income is comprised in English rent alone. But the fund which in India would more or less correspond to English rent has had to surrender to our exchequer at different times 90 per cent., 75 per cent., 66 per cent., 50 per cent. of the rent. Nor is it the actual rent that is thus subjected to assessment for Indian land revenue. The fiscal department determines, without appeal, what they choose to consider the potential rent, and this potential—not actual—rent is what is constituted the basis of the assessment.

Indian officials often ply a similar sleight-of-hand about the Indian debt as compared with other debts, similar to that which they ply about Indian exports and imports as compared with other exports and imports. They describe the Indian debt as only twice the annual income, or, including the railway liabilities four times the annual income; and they contrast this with the English debt as being eight times the annual income. This sophistry is as silly as it is profligate. The ratios are utterly incommensurate. For India has no such taxable residuum as that which England possesses in the rental of the landlords and the profits of the capitalists. As regards the debt itself, the difference in burden of interest charge between a debt held within and a debt held outside of the country is a feature of the comparison which ought not to be left out of view. Again, it has

never been heard that tax-payers in England, like tax-payers in India, are so poor as to starve to death sometimes by the million.

If an export trade of 57 millions sterling, including nearly 11 millions of the Government monopoly of opium, seem such a mighty thing as an index of monetary power in the world's market over the world's produce, then let it be considered how much of this is forestalled by pre-existing annual liabilities. The army alone with its subsidiary services costs some 20 millions sterling, and absorbs the whole of the land revenue yielded within the empire. Nor does this prodigious amount exhibit the whole actual cost of our Indian army. For in addition to the stupendous ransoms shown in the military budget, there is a farther taxation, most heavy and harassing, imposed on the peasantry who have the misfortune to dwell along the line of march from cantonment to cantonment. When a regiment moves on the most ordinary and regular relief (and the reliefs now-a-days with so many English troops going backwards and forwards are numerous and costly), the husbandmen on the line of march are requisitioned for carts, cattle, fodder and provisions as if for an enemy traversing a hostile country. Everyone knows the shifts to which ryots resort when a regiment is on the move, how they dismantle their carts, hide the axles, bury the wheels in water, and hurry off with their bullocks to the jungle. Such is English free trade in India, and such is the hold that we have on the hearts of the people! And even the enormous budget of 20 millions sterling represents the cost of the army only on a peace footing. For on the slightest disturbance, and throughout all the period of actual warfare, this military budget, gigantic as it is already, mounts at a rate unknown in any other country's costly experience of the costliness of war.

So much for the export trade of India. I shall return to it when I come to the dynamics of my subject. Meanwhile I proceed to the import trade of India in its statical view. Here is a classified schedule of all the imports, merchandise as well as treasure, for 1870-71, the latest year for which returns are available (pp. 195, 191, Trade and Navigation Returns):—

Imports, 1870-71.

| CLASS. | GOODS. | VALUE. | TOTAL. |
|-------------------------------|---|------------|------------|
| | | £ | £ |
| Cotton | Cotton Twist and Yarn ... | 3,400,002 | 19,044,869 |
| | Cotton Piece Goods ... | 15,644,867 | |
| Metal | Machinery of all kinds ... | 447,570 | 4,627,229 |
| | Railway materials & stones ... | 1,466,068 | |
| | Metals manufactured, except railway materials ... | 850,319 | |
| | Metals, raw except ditto ... | 1,863,272 | |
| Liquor | Malt Liquors ... | 346,389 | 1,185,818 |
| | Spirits ... | 405,381 | |
| | Wines and liqueurs ... | 434,048 | |
| Silk and Wool | Silk, Raw ... | 895,563 | 1,903,429 |
| | Silk Goods ... | 425,527 | |
| | Woollen Goods ... | 582,339 | |
| Salt and Sugar | Salt ... | 715,892 | 1,271,693 |
| | Sugar, Sugarcandy & Loaf ... | 555,801 | |
| Other articles of Merchandise | ... .. | ..... | 5,380,868 |
| Total Merchandise... | ... .. | ..... | 33,413,906 |
| Treasure imported... | ... .. | ..... | 5,444,823 |
| | Grand Total of all Imports ... | ..... | 38,858,729 |

During the year 1870-71 the importation of silver was on a scale much lower than had prevailed during the previous 15 years when State mortgage and Railway mortgage were being piled on the country. The consequence was that in 1870-71, India presented the anomalous spectacle of a country having to sell 19 millions sterling of goods more than she was able to buy, whereas other countries expect to find their imports exceeding their exports in value, the difference representing to some extent the country's profit on the international business. I shall have occasion to recur to the depressed condition of Indian business in 1870-71 when I come to treat of the dynamics of the bullion trade.* The imports *returned* as merchandise were on the usual scale in 1870-71, with the exception

* Meanwhile I may extract from the figures of the treasure importation the official Trade Return (page 191) for the last 20 years :—

of liquor which in each of the two previous years had been imported to the amount of more than a million and a half sterling.

When finance ministers point to this great array of figures as demonstrating the prosperity of the people of India, I must demur. When I consider the multitudes of people among whom these 38 millions sterling of imports have to be distributed, I think each native or each native family succeeds in buying but a very little indeed. Again, I cannot but recollect that much of the 38 millions sterling does not represent purchases of the natives at all. I cannot but think of those grim figures of new and enormous mortgage over which a glib rhetorician "to whom Heaven has conceded the gift of articulate utterance" slurs with the easy elegance of an apostle of *geist*, as thus :—

| | NEW DEBT ON ACCOUNT OF DEFICITS, ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY. | NEW MORTGAGE BY CREATION OF FRESH RAILWAY STOCK. | TOTAL. |
|-------------|--|--|------------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| 1866-67 ... | 2,517,489 | 9,862,190 | 12,379,679 |
| 1867-68 ... | 1,610,157 | 7,088,027 | 8,698,184 |
| 1868-69 ... | 4,144,644 | 3,287,155 | 7,431,799 |
| 1869-70 ... | 2,480,945 | 6,225,971 | 8,706,916 |

To these stupendous amounts India has been made to import debt, and much of these burdensome goods never reach India at all, except as a book debt entry with order to pay the interest in each of the succeeding years. Those transactions which are settled in this way may accrue and be adjusted far out of the bounds of India, and yet they are paraded as a proof of the natives' prosperity. Concerning that portion of the imports of debt which do reach India at all, and obtain entry in the Customs returns, it is unnecessary and it would be difficult to trace, except merely in a general way, which is the new State mortgage, or which is the new Railway stock that has swollen the imports of each particular year.

| | | | | | £ |
|----------------|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Annual average | 1849-50 to 1853-54 | ... | ... | ... | 4,792,802 |
| " | " 1854-55 " 1858-59 | ... | ... | ... | 11,275,150 |
| " | " 1859-60 " 1863-64 | ... | ... | ... | 17,091,515 |
| " | " 1864-65 " 1868-69 | ... | ... | ... | 17,617,777 |
| Actual in | 1869-70 | ... | ... | ... | 3,954,807 |
| " | " 1870-71 | ... | ... | ... | 5,444,823 |

Thus, we find that much of these wonderful and boasted figures of Indian imports represent (a) mortgages imposed from abroad by foreign compulsion, (b) dead-weight of new debt which is irrevocably destined to entail immediate and absolute annual loss, (c) dead-weight of new stock on account of works euphemistically called reproductive which are not less certain to terminate in a similar drain upon Indian resource. These transactions do not represent annual purchases acquired by the natives of their own free choice out of discretionary earnings. The public works are called reproductive, and they are doubtless very profitable and very nice for the cotton and iron capitalists of the Mersey, the Tyne and the Clyde, all possessed of powerful Parliamentary interest, but they certainly impoverish the people of the Ganges, the Godavery, and the Nerbudda. Is it upon such factitious expansion of customs' figures of imports that India and England are to be congratulated on their mutual commerce? These deft optimists would have pronounced hosannas over the development of Anglo-Abyssinian commerce and wealth at Annesley Bay during the recent expedition to the Red Sea, or over the increase of Anglo-Crimean business shown at Balaklava during the war in the Euxine. When Aden and Gibraltar come to be given up, as they certainly* will be when England comes to be better governed than now, then a set of similar sophists will be found to deprecate the surrender on the usual argument that a healthy and increasing trade, (to wit, at Gibraltar smuggling

* Afin d'éviter la révolution démocratique par l'évolution sociocratique, le patriciat britannique doit autant régénérer sa politique au dehors qu'au dedans. Il faut d'abord éteindre les derniers symptômes d'une disposition oppressive envers les autres éléments d'occidentalité, surtout en faisant cesser l'injurieuse anomalie que soumet à l'Angleterre une ville d'Andalousie.

* * *

Alors ils [les hommes d'Etat britanniques] pourront pleinement développer, à leur éternel honneur, comme à l'immense profit de leur peuple, et même du monde entier, les principaux avantages de leur situation exceptionnelle, que neutralise jusqu'ici l'empirisme stationnaire. Mais si leur conversion tarde trop, ils se trouveront dévancés par l'élite du prolétariat britannique, que des étu-

des spontanées, bientôt systematisées par le positivisme, disposent à faire irrésistiblement surgir les dignes successeurs de Cromwell. Quoique la révolution démocratique ait averti faute d'une doctrine et d'une situation convenables, elle a laissé, chez les meilleures âmes britanniques, des germes imperissables, déjà voisins d'une pleine maturité. Ni la compression intérieure, ni la diversion extérieure, ne peuvent plus entraver des tendances qui, fondées sur l'ensemble du passé, prévaudraient finalement quand même l'évolution anglaise s'accomplirait isolément. Elles doivent bientôt devenir irrésistible lorsque l'avènement du prolétariat central [français] à la dictature systematique fera par tout un digne appel aux sympathies populaires. (*Politique Positive*, iv, 493.)

across the Spanish customs lines), is being transacted at the historic rocks of southern Spain and southern Arabia.

Again, when these sanguine gentlemen demand men's admiration over the 38 millions of Indian imports as being figured and *therefore* cogent proof of the prosperity of the native population, they are bound in common honesty to show separately how much of these represents goods destined for English residents, and how much represents commodities really destined for those native consumers whose condition is the very and the sole question in hand. A return of the claret imported for the mess, a return of the beer imported for the canteen of an English regiment, merely recapitulates so much taxes previously raised from natives as revenue, or so much mortgage previously charged to natives as debt, and now passing into consumption in the form of wine and malt liquor. Are such statements to be adduced as a demonstration that native taxpayers have either possessed the means or exercised the discretion of buying commodities to this amount?

One beholds dearth chronic and famine frequent, and one marvels what we are to appeal to when we come to be challenged by the starvelings to show cause to the world why this polity of ours should last one hour longer. Meanwhile the flippant optimist flaunts a schedule of 38 millions sterling of imports, a schedule which he has not even had the decorum to co-ordinate into some semblance of truthfulness.

Here is an enumeration, and only a partial enumeration of certain articles which figure in the 38 millions of imports, but notoriously do not enter at all in most cases, and in some cases enter only infinitesimally into consumption, on really native account.

| | Declared value. | Remarks. |
|---|-----------------|--|
| | £ | |
| Agricultural implements ... | 10,781 | |
| Animals—Horses only ... | 68,345 | Chiefly from Australia, mostly for English residents and for Government cavalry. |
| Apparel ... | 433,097 | Chiefly from England, and imported for English residents. |
| Arms, ammunition, and military stores ... | 74,297 | |
| Art, works of ... | 11,050 | |
| Bottles ... | 11,139 | |
| Bricks ... | 4,260 | |
| Cabinet-ware ... | 24,655 | Most of this apparently destined for Govt. House at Bombay. |

| | | | |
|--|-----|---------|-----------------------|
| Candles | ... | ... | 54,793 |
| Carriages | ... | ... | 21,736 |
| Cement for building and engineering | ... | ... | 9,002 |
| Clay for ditto | ... | ... | 2,654 |
| Coal and Coke | ... | ... | 467,096 |
| Corks | ... | ... | 13,109 |
| Earthen and Porcelain-ware | | | 74,819 |
| Glass-ware | ... | ... | 194,065 |
| Government Stores | ... | ... | 65,659 |
| Groceries | ... | ... | 12,799 |
| Ice | ... | ... | 13,951 |
| Instruments, scientific | ... | ... | 18,872 |
| Liquors | { | Ales | 311,686 |
| | | Ciders | 711 |
| | | Wines | 433,336 |
| | | Spirits | 385,900 |
| Lucifer Matches | ... | ... | 41,571 |
| Machines and Machinery | ... | ... | 447,543 |
| Military and other official Uniforms | ... | ... | 10,639 |
| Musical Instruments for regimental bands | ... | ... | 3,517 |
| Musical Instruments of other kinds | ... | ... | 25,762 |
| Naval Stores | ... | ... | 87,122 |
| Paper | ... | ... | 279,544 |
| Photographic materials | ... | ... | 6,509 |
| Provisions and Oilman's stores | ... | ... | 292,520 |
| Railway materials | ... | ... | 1,466,067 |
| Soap | ... | ... | 12,578 |
| Tea | ... | ... | 114,055 |
| Telegraphic materials | ... | ... | 4,559 |
| Tobacco | ... | ... | 75,432 |
| Toys and Games | ... | ... | 38,996 |
| Total "Merchandise" | | | ... £5,624,206 |

Thus we find that of the vaunted 38 millions sterling of imports, 5 millions at least never find their way to those natives whose prosperity these figures are adduced to prove. If the original schedule were in such detail as to admit of fuller sifting, the deduction on this account would be found still greater. As it is, let us assume that the whole of the remainder of imports, namely, £33,234,523, does find its way to the 200

millions of natives in India, including of course the population of the Independent States, and we find that the figured demonstration of welfare represents a consumption of just 3s. 4d. per head. During the same year the consumption of foreign imports in the United Kingdom came to £9-16-9 per head (Statistical Abstract, U.K., Parliamentary Paper). In other words, measured by this test, (it is a favourite one among English economists), the people of India are 60 times poorer than those of the United Kingdom. How long is this system to last, of making these poverty-stricken millions entertain and pay for an army recruited from a population 60 times wealthier than they, a population whose boast it is to possess the highest standard of comfort in the world? What wonder that an Indian province should now-a-days be continually on the brink of famine?

If we could extricate, compile, and put aside the whole of those Indian imports which represent the private income, the public debt, and the railway mortgage held by aliens and absentees, and which become, all of them, more or less burdensome to Indian industry, we should find that the remainder of the goods represents for the natives, for those millions who plough and sow, not luxury, not wealth, hardly even the comforts, but only the mere barest necessities of life. That residuum of imports which really returns to the labourers in exchange for all their exports records not the welfare, but only the survival of the native population. It is well that our millions of subjects here should have succeeded in buying some metal wherewith to repair or replace their household utensils. It is well that in 1870-71, the year of our review, the ryot should have succeeded in buying some little of the costly fabrics of Manchester for himself and his family. But the scanty dividends of every Indian bank of discount or exchange, and the still scantier profits of every mercantile firm in this country for that same year, disclosed the gulf which separates English sellers from Indian buyers. The returns of metals and of piece goods imported for 200 millions of people may seem a large amount in the aggregate, but how will this warrant the farther profusion of loans from England?—how will this warrant the farther imposition of mortgages upon India? It is all very well that in the year under review the people of Bengal should have succeeded in importing 435,337 cwts. of foreign salt, mostly from Liverpool, valued in Calcutta at £688,265. It is all very well that the people of Bengal should have succeeded not only in buying this salt but in paying taxes thereon over and above to the unparalleled amount of several hundred per cent. on prime cost. These are among the “spirit-stirring facts” which, according to Sir Richard Temple, “recall the sentiment of “the historian [whatever that may mean], excite thankfulness

| | | | |
|--|-----|---------|-----------------------|
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"in all hopeful minds, and hope in the breast of all patriots."* To humbler men it cannot but be a subject of grief, that the inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency should not be allowed to partake more freely of the cheap salt of their own country which is cast up so bountifully along the shores of their own lakes and seas. Would it stir the patriotic soul of Sir Richard Temple to include in his enumeration of assessments a revenue from rainfall? Would his heart glow with sentiment over his budget if he could succeed in sealing up the clouds of the firmament over India, and compel the Hindu husbandman to purchase the rain and the dew from a Glasgow monopolist of the monsoon, and over and above pay a duty of several hundred per cent. *ad-valorem*?

Such a measure, if it were but practicable, would certainly obtain full justification in those extraordinary doctrines which have recently been propounded in the highest quarters about the water rights and the forest rights of an alien government. The Hindu and Muhammadan might almost adopt the very words of the Lamentation of Jeremiah.—"Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens. Our necks are under persecution, we labour and have no rest. Servants have ruled over us: there is none that doth deliver us out of their hand.

* His financial exposition, 6th March 1869.

It is well to turn from bunkum of this sort to the words of a real Statesman, just to put the bad taste out of one's mouth. Mr. Bright once refuted a similar argument in these words; "Some people believe that it is a good thing to pay a great revenue to the State. Even so eminent a man as Lord John Russell is not without a delusion of this sort. * * * Sometime ago he made a speech, in which there was a great deal to be admired, to a meeting composed, it was said, to a great extent of working men; and in it he stimulated them to a feeling of pride in the greatness of their country and in being citizens of a State which enjoyed a revenue of £100,000,000 a year which included revenues of the United Kingdom and of British India. But I think it would have been far more to the purpose if he could have congratulated the working

men of Liverpool on *this* vast empire being conducted in an orderly manner, on *its* laws being well administered and well obeyed; *its* shores sufficiently defended; *its* people prosperous and happy, on a revenue of £20,000,000. The State indeed, of which Lord John Russell is a part, may enjoy a revenue of £100,000,000, but I am afraid the working men can only be said to enjoy it in the sense, in which men, not very choice in their expressions, say that for a long time they have enjoyed very bad health."

Now turn to page 303, and contrast with Mr. Bright's dignified conception of veritable political greatness, the "boundless prairie" philistinism of Mr. Grant Duff. "Sweetness and light," forsooth! Clammy sweetness and garish light, fit for the *Daily Telegraph*, or for the British House of Commons, or for the caucus of an American orator on the stump declaiming—

About our patriotic pas an' our star-spangled banner
Our country's bird a lookin' on an' singin' out hosanner.

"Our skin was black like an oven because of the terrible famine.
"We have drunken our water for money; our wood is sold
"unto us."

In a recent number of this *Review* there was a translation from the Bengali of a few lines in which some village rhymester had described these same lofty prerogatives which have recently been incorporated with *la haute politique*.—

"The fruit of so much labour, the blood of the bodies of the
"people,

"Taking this to preserve their rule—*what sort of greatness
"is this?*

"This is killing a cow to supply a Brahman with shoes.

"The cry of the ryots is like that of a frog in the mouth of a
"snake.

"The assessors are their grandfathers' fathers. † Instead of
"a handful they fill their arms;

"Coming on the poor like the King of Death, they go from vil-
"lage to village.

"As a water melon, which may be held in the hand, contains
"seven handfuls of seeds,

"So these clever fellows get ten rupees, when the income-tax
"is one rupee only.

"The tax used to be on the land; then it fell on the water,
"and oh! mother! what will the end be?

"Thus thinking, the Wind flew away in terror, saying, 'By
"and bye they will seize me too by the hair of the head.'

"If this be so in time of peace, when war comes our very lives
"will be taken:

"If the water-courses are dry in the wet season, the dry season
"will bring death.

"When the word is given our fortunes flow to the treasury,

"As a child might to its nurse's arms when she calls.

"Lord Lawrence's reign being over, we thought that trouble was
"past:—

"Past is it? or but coming? Any one may see,

"The dark age is only beginning."

One of our own poets has described in similar but perhaps more cultivated language, a gulf like that which separates rulers up at Simla with their *taille*, and their *gabelle*, and their canal *corvee* from the peasants beneath on the plains.—

"In the hollow Lotos-land they live and lie reclined

"On the hills like Gods together, far above mankind:

"For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurl'd

"Far below them in the valleys, and the clouds are lightly curl'd

"Round their golden houses, girdled with the gleaming world:

† Query, mistranslation?

" Where they smile in secret, looking over wasted lands,
 " Blight and famine, plague and earthquake, roaring deeps and fiery sands;
 " But they smile, they find a music centred in a doleful song
 " Steaming up, a lamentation, and an ancient tale of wrong,
 " Like a tale of little meaning though the words are strong ;
 " Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,
 " Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,
 " Storing yearly little dues of wheat, and wine and oil ;
 " Till they perish and they suffer—some, 'tis whispered,—down in hell
 " Suffer endless anguish, others in Elysian valleys dwell,
 " Resting weary limbs at last on beds of asphodel.

But as regards a comparison between the legislation from Simla and the legislation from Olympus, I do not remember having read anywhere in ancient mythology that the Homeric deities spent so much as £30,000 or £40,000 a year at the beginning and end of the hot season in lugging up and down their administrative apparatus, including the very founts and type for printing their decrees. This is another subject that deserves the attention of Mr. Gladstone.

The analysis of the items of imports brings into prominence one notable characteristic of Indian commerce. The optimists vaunt the 96 millions sterling of annual imports and exports, and would have people believe that these figures represent masses of wealth moving by nothing but free stipulation, and thus, and thus mainly or solely, equipoising or oscillating towards equipoise. But should some one analyse the schedules of imports, and confute the assurances of prosperity and wealth, these very same optimists (their tricks are a thousand, their bosoms are one), respond in antistrophic declamation over the indolence, the improvidence, the low standard of comfort, and all the innate depravities, which are then said to characterise the natives of India. The journalist and the official take up the same parable in defence of their common cause. "An ordinary native can live comfortably on twopence a day. He "needs nothing more than a few rags of clothing, a handful of "rice and pulse and a little curry stuff." [Everybody remembers the ducal receipt of a little curry recommended by His Grace of Norfolk against the pinching of insufficient food.] "Imports of "only 3s. 4d. per head per annum ! So little is the demand as yet "in India for our English manufactures. After all these natives "are but an ignorant and inert folk, *the slaves of a gross supersti-* "tion.* Their habits are primitive, they have little ambition and

* "The slaves of a gross superstition,"—the easy aspersion of the population of Orissa by a former Lieutenant Governor in a gazetted minute on the re-settlement of the province. The famine was wound up by a proposition in this minute to increase the land assessment by 25 per cent as a stimulus to industry. In the same

way the present Lieutenant-Governor has recently (December 1871) gazetted the zemindars of Orissa as "*a specially unscrupulous and incorrigible set of men.*" Mr. Tennyson's Northern Farmer, who, however, knew himself to be but a sad heathen laid down a similarly broad proposition : "*The poor in a lump are bad.*"

"less progress. Laziness is inherent in the very nature of the
"mild Hindu, bigotry is essential to the very being of the sulky
"Muhammadan."

This invocation of metaphysical entities to apologise or explain away the proofs of misrule is an old, old story. We have heard it over and over again any day these hundred years about another people who even yet are only painfully struggling out of the pernicious effects of a conquest without incorporation, absenteeism, poverty, and crushed-out manufactures. "Is it not," said Mr. John Stuart Mill, therein more of the sociologist than of the economist, "is it not a bitter satire on the mode in which opinions are formed
"on the most important problems of human nature and life to find
"public instructors of the greatest pretension imputing the backwardness of Irish industry and the want of energy of the Irish
"people in improving their condition to a peculiar indolence and
"insouciance in the Celtic race? Of all modes of escaping from
"the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on
"the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences.
"What race would not be indolent and insouciant when things are
"so arranged that they derive no advantage from forethought and
"exertion? If such are the arrangements in the midst of which
"they live and work, what wonder if the listlessness and indifference so engendered are not shaken off the first moment an
"opportunity offers when exertion would really be of use?"

Before I have done with the statics of Indian commerce, it remains for me to verify by one or two more tests, the compulsoriness of certain exports and the factitiousness of certain imports. If it is by uncoerced, spontaneous action alone, if it is solely by mere advance in prosperity that Indian exports and imports have reached these figures (which, however, cease to appear prodigious when considered in connection with the area and the population concerned) then let some of these optimists explain how it comes that the local maritime trade of India along its own coasts should be so disproportionate to the maritime trade with England. Here are the figures for 1870-71.—

The Indian trade with Great Britain by the Cape and by Suez is returned at £58,393,346, thus :—

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----------------|
| Exports of Indian <i>Merchandise</i> (so called) to | | | |
| England | ... | ... | ... £30,194,306 |
| Imports of English <i>Merchandise</i> (so called) to | | | |
| India | ... | ... | ... 28,199,040 |
| Total... | | | 58,393,346 |

The Indian trade within the Indian seas only, that is to say, at all the ports between Arabia and Siam, both those Indian ports which are British and those Indian ports also which are not British, is returned at £20,452,221, thus :—

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Exports both of Foreign <i>Merchandise</i> (so called) | |
| and also of Indian Produce and Manufactures | ... £10,356,930 |
| Imports both of Foreign <i>Merchandise</i> (so called) | |
| and of Indian Produce and Manufactures | ... 10,095,291 |
| Total | ... 20,452,221 |

The disproportion between the two trades is really much greater than these figures of 58 millions sterling and 20 millions sterling indicate. For much of this so-called coasting trade of India consists really of re-entries of trade with the United Kingdom, that is to say, represents goods actually on their way to or from the United Kingdom *via* some Indian Port of primary entry or discharge. Moreover the figures of coasting trade include large amounts of railway material and other foreign-imposed mortgage, goods which have as little to do with genuine merchandise as a remainder of a loan when dubbed a revenue cash balance by a charlatan financier has to do with a veritable surplus. Now will some of those gushing patriots whose hearts, according to Sir Richard Temple, swell with sentiment, thankfulness, and hopefulness over such spirit-stirring figures as these, will they deign to explain this striking disproportion? How comes it that the maritime exchanges of over 200 millions of people among themselves amount to only £20,000,000 while the maritime exchanges of these same 200 millions, with a remote population on the other side of the globe, amount to £58,000,000? (In other years than 1870-71 the disproportion will be found to be much greater even than this). How comes it that the people of Madras should have so much more dealings with a cold island at the uttermost end of the planet, and so little with their next door neighbours in Bengal? It was not always so. The coasting trade of the Coromandel was not always so inconsiderable in proportion to its foreign trade. A share in the coasting trade of the Indies was thought a most lucrative and desirable business for the Honourable Company of merchant adventurers trading to the East in those days when they had not yet taken to government,—those happier days before the Company had come to be, in the words of Burke “that thing which was supposed by the Roman “law irreconcilable to reason and propriety—*eundem negotiatorem et dominum*, the same power becoming the general

"trader, the same power the supreme lord"? Where is now the pre-eminence of Ormuz, Surat, Calicut and Bencoleen, and the other places that figure in the early commercial annals of the East? The Madras coast, once populous with skilful manufacturers, has now to export grain from a scanty reserve of food, and to deport disemployed labourers to weed sugarcane in the West Indies. Dacca, once a great city, rich with wonderful muslins, is now a collection of squalid, jungly, and feverish hovels. Antiquarians and travellers tell us of the intimate and beneficial relations that must have existed between India on the one hand and Java and other tropical and sub-tropical regions on the other hand, in those ages when neither Java had been exploited by the Dutch, nor India, Ceylon and Burmah had come under commercial servitude to the English. But now we have to confess and deplore that the risk from vicissitudes of seasons in India is aggravated by the commercial isolation which cuts off India from her neighbours in times of scarcity, and by a plantation system which sometimes sacrifices and always embarrasses and jeopardises hosts of human lives for the sake of a few staples of European luxury and riches such as Coffee, Indigo, Sugar and Cotton.* I shall return to this lamentable subject when I come to treat of the commercial dynamics, to which indeed it more properly belongs.

It will doubtless be urged as a reply to my statement, that the exchanges of the 200 millions of natives which I have taken into consideration are only the maritime exchanges, whereas there are other and important inland exchanges conducted by railway waggon, by bullock cart and by river boat which have been omitted in my reckoning. Be it noted however that my comparison between the Indian trade within the Indies and the Indian trade with the British islands professes to deal solely with the sea-borne goods. If I have omitted the inland transport of Indian goods within India, I have likewise omitted the inland transport of Indian goods within England. A moment's consideration will disclose why such a comparison must be confined to the sea-borne trade in both cases. There are no figures of the inland trade in England, and much less in India which can be relied on. (Yet, if tolerably accurate enumerations could be procured, they would certainly bear out my argument.) It is easy to scrutinise the loading and unloading of a cargo over a ship's side in a few harbours, but it would be impossible to enumerate the loads of bullock cart and river boat on every road and field and stream over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles. Above all there is an admirable test available for verifying the returns of the maritime exchanges, namely, the rate and amount of the

* Compare Blue book on Orissa Famine, page 344.

customs' duties actually realised upon these transactions. No such verification can be attempted for the inland exchanges.

I know, indeed, that there are administration and other reports especially of the Central Provinces—that highly favoured region of optimist verbiage—reports that bristle with annual schedules of the inland trade of this territory and that district, all multiplied, added, divided, and averaged *ad infinitum*. In default of some such means of verification as I have just described, I reckon these official and optimist guesses to be even less valuable than the local officers' estimates of grain stock in Orissa on the eve of the famine, that is, I reckon them a good deal worse than worthless.

Turning now from the customs' returns of the Government, I shall appeal for a verification to the personal experience of the merchant. There is hardly a merchant who settles anywhere in India, especially beyond the permanently assessed lands of Lower Bengal, that does not at first experience bewilderment for a time over these official tables of millions upon millions sterling of exports. For a while he fails to realise the prodigious poverty of the country. Taught, however, by experience, he begins to appreciate the actual situation of Indian trade, the paucity of entrepreneurs, the scantiness of stocks of produce, and the enormous difficulty of extending business except by venturing upon numerous and precarious advances on security of the most hazardous character. At last he discovers that much of those Indian customs-house returns bear no analogy whatever to the port entries of other countries to whose statistics he is accustomed. For his purposes those Indian returns of exports and imports are utterly factitious, for they have nothing whatsoever to do with exchanges, or with merchandise, or with the like purport of the bulk of the customs' registers in other countries than India.

Our Indian statesmen are always seeking to vindicate the success of our rule in India by political economy. What has political economy to do with the case? The economist tells us that the exports and imports of a nation equate or oscillate towards equation by what he calls the action of international supply and demand, whereby according to him the aggregate of imports is exactly paid for by the aggregate of exports. But in India the so-called exports and imports do not equate nor oscillate towards equation at all. The year's exports from India almost invariably exceed the year's imports into India, a feature to be found in no other country over such a range of time and upon such a scale in amount. The economist tells us that if a country's exports or sales of merchandise be in excess of its imports, then the whole of the difference will be found to be imported in bullion. In India the balance between exports and im-

ports, a balance in favour of India, is not liquidated to the full in bullion, nor in any other commodity at all. The economist tells us that if the exports of one country A to another country B be in excess of A's imports from B, and if the difference be not liquidated in bullion, then the rate of exchange at B and A respectively, are in favour of B and against A. He tells us that these features of premium and discount are only temporary, for that at last A will be induced to buy (import) more from B, or which is the same thing from C a debtor of A, or else that B will be obliged to economise and buy less from A, and that then those conditions of premium and discount will cease to characterise the exchanges. The economist tells that there will ensue retrenchment on the one side or profusion on the other, so that the aggregate of exports from either country will no longer be seriously exceeded by the aggregate of imports into that country. But what is it that actually occurs in Indian exchanges? The normal rate of exchange is and for years it continues to be against India, and for that matter is mostly but little in favour of and is often against England; the exports from India continue to be in excess of the imports; the balance to be made good to India is not liquidated to the full in silver; England does not retrench in her consumption of Indian produce. Let the shareholders of Indian banks consider how the very foundations of their business are thus undermined by those officials who profess the gospel of Free Trade. Such and so signal are the confutations of the so-called laws of political economy which Indian affairs present.

It is not the metaphysics of that pretended science that will measure or explain the relations between India and England. The following few words of an obscure paragraph in Mr. Mill's Political Economy are enough to show that his two volumes are void of jurisdiction in these questions of our Indian empire. They show also that the so-called laws of international have as many exceptions as the so-called laws of interpersonal exchange. I italicise some of the expressions.

"Before closing this discussion it is fitting to point out in what manner and degree the preceding conclusions are affected by the existence of international payments *not originating in commerce*, and for which no equivalent in either money or commodities is expected or received; such as, *a tribute or remittance of rent to absentee landlords or of interest to foreign creditors, or a Government expenditure abroad*, such as England incurs in the management of some of her colonial dependencies.

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"To begin with the (assumed) case of barter. The supposed an-

" nual remittances being made in commodities, and being exports for
 " which there is no return, it is no longer requisite that the imports
 " and exports should pay for one another : on the contrary there
 " must be an annual excess of exports over imports, equal to the
 " value of the remittance. If, before the country became liable to
 " the annual payment, foreign commerce was in its natural state of
 " equilibrium, it will now be necessary for the sake of effecting
 " the remittances, that foreign countries should be induced to take
 " a greater quantity of goods than before : which can only be done
 " by offering those exports on cheaper terms, or in other words, by
 " paying dearer for foreign commodities. The international values
 " will so adjust themselves that either, by greater exports or by
 " smaller imports or both, the requisite excess on the side of ex-
 " ports will be brought about ; and this excess will become the
 " permanent state. The result is, that *a country which makes*
 " *regular [rather, regulated or obligatory] payment to foreign*
 " *countries, besides losing what it pays, loses also something*
 " *more by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to*
 " *exchange its productions for foreign commodities.*

" The same results follow on the supposition of money. Com-
 " merce being supposed to be in a state of equilibrium when the
 " obligatory remittances begin, the first remittance is necessarily
 " made in money. This lowers prices in the remitting country and
 " raises them in the receiving. The natural effect is that more
 " commodities are exported, &c. * * * * *

" * * The result to the interests of the two countries will
 " be as already pointed out : *the paying country will give a*
 " *higher price for all that it buys from the receiving country,*
 " *while the latter besides receiving the tribute obtains the export-*
 " *able produce of the tributary country at a lower price.* (Book
 " iii. Chapter xxi. Sec. 4. *International payments of a non-*
 " *commercial character.*)

The extensive catalogue of exemptions set forth in this cautious proviso of Mr. Mill, shows that the Indian problem is not to be solved by political economy. That problem is not capable of being solved at all except by the veritable science of sociology. Mr. Mill himself who in his best days was the disciple of Comte but

Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto

has made his political economy instructive only in so far as he has overstepped the limits assigned by his predecessors and has, more or less inconsistently with his own premises, extended the scope of his treatise towards a social instead of merely a monetary philosophy. As Mr. Mill formerly claimed a wider domain than Mr. Ricardo, so now his successors also the younger economists are resenting the bounds and definitions set by Mr. Mill, and thus the wordy

and metaphysical wrangles of these various exponents as to the actual extent of their jurisdiction demonstrate the instability of their anarchic interregnum.

The discredited idols of Political Economy will afford our Indian ministers but little protection in the impending crisis. The spontaneity postulated by the economist is negatived by the very statement of the relations between India and England. Other and more potent influences having been found to be at work, why do our Indian ministers not proceed to deal with these? Why do they persist in recurring to hypothetical assumptions which confessedly are displaced in the particular case? The Indian financier dons the ephod of the political economist in order to prophesy smooth things over a discredited and doomed régime. Presently he, like the poor usher De Breze, will be commanded by some Mirabeau to stand aside with his Urim and his Thummim as having no longer place nor utterance here.

It is not the first time that metaphysics, the invariable resource of retrograde politicians, have been resorted to for disproof of English failure in India. In 1788 the metaphysical laws of English evidence were invoked and with success to screen Indian oppression. In 1872 the not less metaphysical laws of political economy are invoked (is it so to be recorded,—with success?), to deny Indian impoverishment.

"I have too much confidence," said Edmund Burke addressing a tribunal which subsequently proved itself all unworthy of his confidence, "I have too much confidence in the learning with which you will be advised, and the liberality and nobleness of the sentiments with which you are born, to suspect that you would by any abuse of forms and by a technical course of proceeding, deny justice to so great a part of the world that claims it at your hands. Your Lordships always had an ample power, and almost unlimited jurisdiction; you have now a boundless object. It is not from this district, or from that parish, not from this city, or the other province, that relief is now applied for: exiled and undone princes, extensive tribes, suffering nations, infinite descriptions of men different in language, in manner and in rites, men separated by every barrier of nature from you by the providence of God, are blended in one common cause, and are now become suppliants at your bar. For the honour of this nation, in vindication of this mysterious providence, let it be known that no rule formed upon municipal maxims, (if any such rule exists), will prevent the course of that imperial justice which you owe to the people that call to you from all parts of a great disjointed world. * * *

* * * * * God forbid that when you try the most serious of all causes, that when you try the cause of Asia

“ in the presence of Europe, there should be the least suspicion
 “ that a narrow partiality utterly destructive of justice should
 “ so guide us, that a British subject in power should appear
 “ in substance to possess rights which are denied to the humble
 “ allies, to the attached dependents of this kingdom, who by
 “ their distance have a double demand upon your protection,
 “ and who by an implicit, I hope not a weak and useless, trust
 “ in you, have stripped themselves of every other resource under
 “ heaven.

JAMES GEDDES.

NOTE A (page 319)

In the present depression of our Indian banks, both those of discount and those of exchange—a depression from which there is no hope of early relief—the unfortunate shareholders may well take into serious consideration the portentous influence over their affairs exerted by the Government. How is it possible for their affairs to prosper when the really commercial business of genuine exchange is so completely dominated by one single authority, an authority utterly beyond competition as being far above loss, an authority whose nett drawings reach the unparalleled amount of £13,000,000 a year? What sort of field is left to the exchange banks, in a commerce, if commerce it may be called, of some £50,000,000 a year either way? Nor is it only the business of exchange that is thus handicapped. This single autocrat, himself the master of 200,000 bayonets, influences the Indian business of inland discount as heavily as he does the Indian business of foreign exchange. The shareholders of all Indian banks will be fortunate if our leading official bank in India, in which unofficial banks are necessarily interested, succeed in extricating itself without a painful crisis from its present unsound condition of having the bulk of its capital, a capital but little reinforced by private deposits, locked up in Government securities. The excuse of the directors, a very natural excuse, for locking up so much of their means in this way, instead of keeping it employed within easy call in the regular discount bills of proper banking is this, that Indian trade is, and for a long time has been, very slack. The words “excessive and prolonged slackness of Indian business,”—what are they but a round about phrase for general Indian impoverishment? Meanwhile the directors trust that the scantiness of private deposits will continue to be supplemented by cash balances of Government revenue lent “to subserve the interests of commerce.” Vain expectation! For the present it is pleasant to have a dividend eked out by the profits on Government money lying on deposit. But these so-called cash balances of Government revenue are in fact borrowings, and borrowings are

apt to become exhausted, and then comes the crisis as in 1855. Even if the sums lent on deposit by Government were genuine revenue balances it would be unwise to trust in them so much. For the deposit account of a solitary millionaire is not so reliable for banking purposes as the deposit accounts of a thousand men with each a thousand pounds. The millionaire may change his mind at any moment and suddenly draw on demand in full. Not so with the *average* of a multitude of customers. Again, the millionaire's means may fail *him*, and this is what is sure to happen sooner or later with the millionaire depositor of borrowed "cash balances" whose case we are now considering.

I shall take another example of the same argument from the case of exchanges. Let the shareholders, who have been smarting under the scanty dividends of Indian banks of exchange, consider what sort of "*business*" is the Secretary of State's drawing account of £13,000,000 a year. Little brokerage will the banks reap upon that set of drafts compared with what they might reasonably expect to secure from transactions to the same amount in aggregate, but spread over a multitude of private individuals.

When one notices the prominence of Indian Government Securities in the half-yearly investment statements of our banks and insurance companies in India and at home, one cannot but be shocked at the misery which is awaiting the numerous and helpless victims of the impending crisis in Indian commerce and finance.

ART. IX.—THE HINDU CASTES.

1.—*Hindu Tribes and Castes as represented in Benares.* By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B. Calcutta. Thacker and Spink. 1872.

2.—*Memoirs of the History, Folk Lore and distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India.* By the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B. Edited by John Beames, M.R.A.S. Part I, castes and their sub-divisions. London. Trübner & Co. 1869.

THE subject of the two books before us is one which, although it bears upon every point connected with the daily life of every resident in India, has yet to be thoroughly investigated. Although we have now been masters of Hindustan for well-nigh a century, and intimately connected with its people for twice that period, we have as yet made no great steps in understanding the curious and artificial net-work of custom which forms the basis of their social and religious polity. Theories of ethnology we have had in abundance, all more or less useless, because framed merely from one point of view, either religion, language, or physical aspect being taken in each case as the hobby horse which was to be ridden to death.

Two main causes have been at work to prevent any inquiries, that may have been made on this subject, from standing on their own merits and being capable of being utilised by future enquirers in going into further details. The first is the extraordinary perversity shown by even those acquainted with the subject, in persisting in the belief that the four castes of Manu are still existing and that the so-called mixed castes arose out of them. This has all but rendered useless, the otherwise valuable information to be derived from the census of the North-West Provinces, which preceded that now under compilation; and it gravely disfigures the otherwise valuable book of Mr. Sherring now under our consideration. It should never be lost sight of that, whether the fourfold division of castes by Manu had ever a real existence, or was, as there seems some reason to think, a merely ideal state to which the Bráhmans, if powerful enough, were to strive to attain, it has never been in force within the period of which we possess any trustworthy records. At the present day not only is no distinct Sudra caste found anywhere, but it is impossible to separate those of the trading classes, who have a right to be called Vaisiyas from those who have not. Nay, more, the meaner classes of Rájputs have often so mixed with the other tribes around them that it is extremely difficult to say whether they should be called Rájputs or no; and even in the

case of the Bráhmans, there are divisions amongst them, which evidently were not contemplated by the great Hindu lawgiver.

The next obstacle is the ethnological one. Nothing has done more to frustrate the results of inquiries in this direction, than the practice of drawing a hard and fast line between Aryans and Non-Aryans. Whilst some classes have kept themselves almost free from intermixture with their surroundings, others seem to have freely mingled with the aborigines; some probably aboriginal tribes have adopted the language and religion of their conquerors, whilst others have retained one or other of these or merely modified them. It is this tendency to theorise ethnologically without sufficient data to go on that has led the author of Orissa to class as inferior Bráhmans, the Gadis of the Himalayas, the Bhuinhars of Behar, and others, who, though pretending to the title of Bráhmans, are not admitted to be so by any other caste. The Bhuinhars, in fact, in some places call themselves Rájputs. The same confusion arises with regard to the Rájputs, amongst whom the Jats and Gujars are frequently classed, though all their rites and customs tend to show that they are really tribes of Goallas.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Government of India has never called for returns of the castes and sub-divisions of castes in the different provinces. Some sort of attempt was made at the time of the compilation of the Glossary, but the information given was meagre, and Sir Henry Elliot at once showed how incomplete was the list. With the exception of the Glossary and Supplement, a few scattered works here and there such as Reades' *Inferior Castes of the North-West*, and Carnegie's *Races of Oudh*, are all the contributions we have to the subject, save Mr. Sherring's attempt to do for Benares what we should wish to see done for all India.

We noticed at first what we consider a grave defect in the arrangement of the book; that is, an attempt to reduce the arrangement in some sort to the fourfold division of Manu, a natural result of which is such grievous collocations as that of the Banjaras (a tribe with no more pretensions to caste than Nats or Kanjars) with Agarwalas and other classes, who have considerable claims to be considered as typical Vaisiyas.

We must also denounce in the strongest terms the introduction of notices of eminent inhabitants of Benares into the body of the book. These so-called historical sketches, though they would doubtless increase the sale of the volume amongst the friends and admirers of those whose lives are related, form no part of the subject matter which gives its name to the book, and would much more fittingly have been placed in a separate volume. In the case, at least, of the Bhuinhars, the introduction of the life of the Maharajah of Benares, has led the author to place that tribe amongst

the Sarwaria Bráhmans, a position which the Sarwaria Bráhmans indignantly repudiate, and which is not admitted by any other caste. No Bráhmanic honours are paid by any caste to the Babhans or Bhuihars. They have some curious rules within which they and Rájputs may take food from one another, and in Chota Nagpur they claim to be Rájputs. They adopt surnames alike of Bráhmans and Rájputs, Singh, Tewari, Rai, Panre, and the like ; but the names of their clans are almost without exception framed from the Rájputs. Their customs present a striking similarity to those of the warrior class, and in fact, except their own assertion, there seems to be not one single reason for believing the curious statement made by Mr. Campbell in his *Ethnology of India* that there is "no doubt that this class "is formed by an intermixture of Bráhmans with some inferior caste." Mr. Sherring admits this to be "untenable," but proposes no solution of his own. Another serious difficulty in digesting the contents of the book also arises from the continual cross-divisions we meet with. Thus, in one chapter, Parwal and Palliwal are classed with Khatri, in another they appear as a sub-division of Oswal. Muriyari and Savaiya, the two largest sub-divisions of Mallahs, are found both under Mallahs and Kahars. Bansphor are included under Dharkar and Mehtar ; and Pasi, though enumerated as a separate caste, is also included as a sub-division of Khatik. Further enquiry, and more careful revision will doubtless eliminate these blemishes.

The introduction is mainly occupied with extracts from *Manu*. It then embarks into the question as to whether the primitive castes were three or four in number, a speculation quite as profitable as whether Hengist and Horsa came over in three or more ships, and quite as easily determined. Our author proceeds, "The only castes that have for the most part preserved "their purity of blood are the Bráhmans, the Kshatriyas, and perhaps some of the Vaisiyas." Under which head would he rank the Kayasthas, who are perhaps the most clearly demarked of existing castes, both as a whole and in their sub-divisions? The first thing that strikes the reader, when he comes to the book itself, is the vastly disproportionate space allotted to the Bráhmans and Rájputs to that given to the rest of the tribes. The manners and customs of the Bráhmans, as regards their religious observances and ceremonial, have been so often treated of, that we may well pass over them here, nor do we see the object of their introduction in the volume before us. We come next to the divisions of the two typical branches of Bráhmans, Gaur and Dravira. These, excluding as they do at least thirty tribes of Bráhmans, and only including by a side wind the Bráhmans of Bengal, can be said to possess no more than an antiquarian interest. The whole of the

account of the Bráhmans is, in fact, encumbered to such a degree with the fanciful Gotras derived from the Vedas they are presumed to follow, that it would be extremely difficult to turn this part of the book to any practical use.

In section III., however, of Chapter IV., we come to a point of the greatest interest. The Bráhmans here enumerated are all employed in sacerdotal functions, and are all looked down upon by the non-priestly Bráhmans. Thus, we have the curious anomaly that in the priestly caste the performance of any priestly function is considered degrading. The duty of a Bráhman is not to perform the office of priest but to read the Vedas. We have the Mahábráhman, who performs the funeral ceremonies, and whom his brother Bráhmans will not touch. The Gungaputra, commonly called the Ghát Bráhman, whose name is a by-word, Pandas or temple priests, Barna Bráhmans who conduct the worship of the lower castes, Gyawals and Prayagwals who rule over the ceremonies connected with pilgrimages to Gya and Allahabad, Ojhas (confounded by Dr. Hunter with Maithila Bráhmans of whom they are a degraded race) exercising the vocation of Wizards, Dayabagyas Ganaks and Jausi Bráhmans who cast horoscopes and predict events. All these are looked upon as a lower class by the orthodox Bráhman. The cause of this remains yet to be explained.

The Bhuinhars we have already noticed above. It is only needful to add that the necessity of making a Bráhman of the Maharájah of Benares has caused the invention of a tribe of Bhuinhar Rájputs. The two so-called tribes are one and the same. Of the remaining tribes of Gaur Bráhmans, the Jijhotiya and Saraswat claim no particular notice. The Taga Gaur Bráhmans seem in everything but name to be identical with the Bhuinhars; and there seems to be some ground for supposing that the Bengali Tagores (properly Thákur) are an offshoot from them. Like the Bhuinhars, the regular Bráhmans repudiate all connection with them; and as Mr. Beames says at the conclusion of Sir Henry Elliot's lengthy disquisition on them, there seems no reason for supposing them to be anything but low Aryans.—The Maithil and Utkala Bráhmans are very rapidly despatched by Mr. Sherring.

Amongst Dravira Bráhmans, the Konkan tribe amongst the Mahrattas seems to have of the greatest claim to distinction. With regard to these and other Mahratta Bráhmans, Mr. Campbell seems to have distinguished himself by travelling far into the realms of pure conjecture. Though Mr. Sherring states these suspicions, it is merely to dissent from them, and so far most people will go with him. The rest of the Dravira Bráhmans are not very remarkable, except the Nágárs, who were at one time renowned for their fighting qualities.

Amongst the so-called supplementary tribes of Bráhmans, the

Sakadwipi Bráhmans are chiefly remarkable for their great numbers, and for the fact that they will drink from a vessel from which another person has already drunk. The Kashmiri Pandits are said to be the only Hindu caste to be found in Kashmir. They are wonderfully fair and have no objection to flesh-eating. Numbers of them are now settled in India.

The Rájputs, though so widely spread and well-known a race, have had little done to elucidate their history since the publication of Tod's Rájasthán. Certainly not much is added by quoting from Campbell's *Ethnology* that "their wives are shut up in seclusion and lost for agricultural labour," a statement not only contradicted by Tod, who says "To attend and aid in the minutiae of husbandry is by no means uncommon with them, as to dress and carry the meals of their husbands to the fields is a general practice," but at variance with the commonly observed custom at the present day, where the husband is absent as a soldier, or in service, for the wife to carry on the farming of the patrimony.

It seems a pity that Tod's classification of 36 royal races should be accepted as anything but a purely ornamental arrangement, founded as it was on lists differing considerably both in the numbers and names of the tribes included in it, and containing at least two tribes, the Jats and Gujars, with whom the Rájputs do not even generally intermarry. There are, it appears, 99 distinct tribes of Rájputs in Benares, though Mr. Carnegy could only find 29, only so far off as Oudh. The first tribe we find mentioned is that of the Gahlots, the reason being that it is the tribe to which belongs the Maharajah of Vizianagram, of whom our author has subjoined a sketch. A division of the Rájputs into Surajbansi, Chandrabansi, and Agnibansi, with the subordinated Gotras Jadubansi and Nagbansi, plus the Thákur and other spurious or degenerate tribes, would have been much more useful than the scattered notices we have of the extant tribes. Not but that many of them are worthy of their separate notices. The Gautams, Bais and Chauháns are races whose history is the early history of Hindustan. The strife between the Chandels and Chauháns would furnish materials for a history in itself. The Powars and Solankhis are also tribes well known in the records of early Aryan strife. The Tuars (who claim Anand Pal as one of their Rajas) were kings of Delhi while the Gahawars were rulers of Benares. The Rathors are remarkable for having served the Musalman invaders as soldiers and greatly assisted them in their conquest. Some of them are now Musalmáns, but still call themselves by their gentile name. The Rajwars have little or no pretension to be considered Rájputs, and the Nikhamb, another of the so-called royal tribes, are merely a division of the

Chauháns on their own confession. A curious custom prevails amongst the Baghels that they never marry within their own tribe, an admission (possibly) of inferior descent. The Jats and Gujars are enumerated as Rájputs and have a chapter to themselves. We must disagree with the sentiment that it would have been out of place to discuss their origin, as on that pin hangs their position. It seems to be generally admitted that they do not intermarry with Rájputs; and although Mr. Sherring says there is good reason for the belief that such alliances have been formed, Tod distinctly denies it. Like the Gujars their habits are pastoral, and the practice of allowing second marriage points to some lower class than Rájputs as their forefathers. It seems very probable that the claim of the Gujars of Bijnaur to be Goallas is a true one.

We come now to what our author terms the Mixed Classes—Vaisiyas, Sudras and others. The title involves an error in the face of it, as Vaisiyas and Sudras are not mixed classes. The position assumed that the Vaisiyas were originally “chiefly engaged in rural pursuits” which is alleged to be incontestable, destitute as it is of one iota of proof, calls for but little remark. Roving as the Aryan immigrants were continually, they had little chance of becoming agriculturists, and it is hardly likely that the mere herdsmen of the cattle which like the Scythians, they probably carried along with them, would have formed a part of the twice born classes. The statement, too, that the Vaisiya and Sudra class have become “intimately blended” would be of some value if any Vaisiya or any Sudra caste could be shown ever to have existed. But we may safely pass over the preliminary chapter, which, assuming as it does, the existence of a Sudra caste and describing as common to the different tribes of this caste, ceremonies which vary in important points in every one of these tribes, can be but of very minor interest.

The next chapter contains an account of religious devotees; who, as having dispensed with caste altogether, are hardly well selected as typical Vaisiyas or Sudras. The first division commences with a gross error as to the term Gosain. Gosain is not used vaguely by Hindus at all, but is as invariably used as a distinctive generic title of devotees, who follow the worship of Vishnu as Baishtab or Baisnab, but is generally confined to the Gurus of that profession. The Dasnamis are well known as the Purohits of many of the lower castes, but the list given of them is certainly incorrect. Several of these sects of devotees have much that is curious, and some of them somewhat that is admirable in their precepts and practice; but as they have but little bearing on the subject of caste, they call for no mention here, except that they afford a long standing proof of the irksomeness of the Bráhmanic

fetter, and of the readiness with which (on any religious pretext), it could be cast off.

The next chapter is almost ludicrous in the collocation. Here we have the sacred bard (the Bhat) and the herald (the Charan) castes, ranking almost with Bráhmans and Rájputs, and to this day claiming and receiving the courtesy title of Maháráj, placed side by side with pimps, procurers, prostitutes and dancers. The bulk of the classes mentioned, too, are Muhammadans.

At length we come to the Baniyas. An attempt is made to assign a remoter antiquity to the Khatris than the Rájputs can claim, chiefly on the authority of Mr. Campbell's *Ethnology*. It would seem that the Bráhmans, if they ever did eat food (not cooked but uncooked food) from the hands of the Kshatriyas, gave up the practice on account of their continued squabbles with them, whilst having no ground of enmity against the trading class of Khatris they still took this convenience, as a favour, from them. It seems highly improbable, that the Khatris if, as they claim to be, of the same lineage as the Kshatriyas, and in no way degenerate, should have made so little way in India as they have; their number, except in the Panjáb, where they co-exist with the Sikh Kshatriyas, being insignificant. The Agarwálas are on the whole the most powerful and wealthy of the Baniyas. It matters very little how they came by their name unless some historical fact can be connected with it. It would, however, have been well to have given some more detailed account of their customs. The Oswals, who should have been placed with Sarawaks (who are barely mentioned), are ruthlessly sacrificed; and make way for Babu Siva Pershad's history which is nothing to the point. A curious fact that some of these Jain Baniyas intermarry with Hindu Baniya castes is altogether passed over. Lastly, we have by some strange caprice included with the other Baniyas, the Banjaras, a tribe almost certainly aboriginal to a considerable extent, converted to Islamism, by profession originally robbers, by force of circumstances converted into carriers, especially of gram. No particulars are given of the divisions of them, which are said to be marked. In Bengal the Mukeris or Mukhiyar are the tribe most commonly found. As we pass on confusion becomes more confounded. After cautioning his reader that Halwais and Bhunas (as he calls Kandus) are often confounded, the author proceeds to enumerate Bunnewala, a mere misspelling for Bunawala (synonym of Kandus), as one of the castes of Halwai.

Sunri, the generic title, is included under Kalwar, which is also made to include Gurar, a Baniya and not a Sunri. It is curious that the Sunri, though necessarily impure from their occupation, frequently style themselves Sudras, especially those who have adopted agriculture as a pursuit.

The Kayasthas which as a class rank certainly far higher than the Baniyas are here introduced. The position of the twelve tribes of Kayasthas is variously given. Mathur Kaits, however, are allowed by all to be the chief class, and with them alone do other castes intermarry. Unai, the half-caste, is included on the authority of Elliot alone, but is not admitted by the Kayasthas as a Kayastha class at all. The Bráhmans allege that the Unai are Bráhmans, who by trade lost their caste; and our author himself has previously included them as Baniyas. The account of the Bengáli Kayasthas is meagre and incorrect. There are seventy-two and not eleven classes, but the title is only introduced to bring in Bábu Guru Das Mittra.

The divisions of the artisans is somewhat quaint. Next to the Sonars, a class of extreme respectability, come the Carpenters, impure in every part of India. Laheri who are said to be earthenware varnishers are really Lac-workers. Dabgar are Chamars; and Patua, also called Jugi Patua, merely an offshoot of the Tantis.

The agricultural castes are more carefully considered; though there are still, however, errors and omissions. It is strange that no other Kurmis are enumerated than those that could be culled from the supplemental glossary, as in one district alone twenty-eight sub-divisions have been found. No notice, too, is taken of the singular connection subsisting between the Kurmis and the Dhanuks. A Kurmi, who sells himself into slavery (not an uncommon thing even now) is said to become a Dhanuk. Mahtau (properly Mahto) said to be a class of Kurmis is a common name for a headman amongst Kurmis, Koiris, and Goallas in Behar, Gorakhpur, Hurrpur, and the neighbouring parts, and not a class of Kurmis at all.

Kachhis are enumerated separately from Kurmis, though only a sub-division of them. Our author persists in confounding them with the Malis, in the matter of the Maur or bridal crown; though under the head of Malis, he afterwards corrects himself. Dhailphora separately enumerated are Kurmis, and the Rasgars are Rájputs, now by conversion Musalmáns.

The Gowallas (calling themselves in the North-West, Ahirs) are certainly one of the largest of the castes. They have three great divisions and innumerable sub-divisions. Gaddis enumerated by Mr. Sherring as Gowallas are really Gaveis (a far inferior caste), though elevated by Dr. Hunter to the dignity of Bráhmans. The Gujars and Jats are almost certainly Gowallas by extraction, and Gowalla Rajas were formerly paramount in parts of Hindustan. Notwithstanding Mr. Campbell's view that Gowalla is not a tribal name, there seems to be but little doubt of the race connection between the Gowallas of the North-West and Bengal, even inclusive of those of Orissa. The Sadgops are

certainly a difficulty ; but as they have no connection with the other Gowallas of Bengal, and neither intermarry with them, nor follow the same pursuits, it is perfectly possible they may be a different race. Their name certainly favours a contrary notion.

Under Kahars are enumerated one class of Dhanuks or Kurmis, four classes of Mallahs, one class of Kamdus, and several independent castes ; whilst the best known class of Kahars, the Rawanis, are not mentioned.

The Dhobi allow seven castes to exist amongst them, Magadhiya, Ajudhiya, Kanaujiya, Belwar, Gosar, Bathare, and Pagahiya. Of the other tribes mentioned, Shaikh and Bhaika are Musalmáns. No mention is made of the cultivating Dhobis, who do not intermarry with the washing Dhobis ; nor of the class calling themselves Rajdhob, who are said generally to be engaged in the operation of rice cleaning.

Mallah is again a curious instance of the cross divisions in which Mr. Sherring delights, three of the classes given under the head of Kahar being again enumerated here.

Again Lodha, Bind and Musahar, all separate tribes, are enumerated as Nuniyas.

The chapter on the Bhars is extremely interesting. They seem to have been supplanted by the Rájputs, but they are not eradicated as our author would lead us to suppose. There seems very good reason to connect them with the Rajwars, and tradition also allies the Cherus with them. The connection of the tribes mentioned in the next chapter, Cherus, Tharus, Kharwars, &c., with the Kols will probably be one of the subjects of Colonel Dalton's ethnology ; and so little is at present known of these tribes by the general student of the people of India, that we may be pardoned for passing over this part of the book. The Bawariya should, however, have called up the mention of the Bauris of Bengal, with whom there is little reason to doubt they are allied. Dharkars, merely a superior class of Dom, are made to include Dom under them. Bansphor another class of Doms are included both under Dharkar and Mehter. It is curious that the authority of Elliot should not have been followed here, as he is perfectly correct in separating Hela and Raut from the ordinary Bhangi or sweeper, from whom also the Hari is a separate caste.

The Pasis seem to be a tribe that have lost very little of their distinctive character. In no way do they assimilate to the people around them, and though it is probably going too far to class the Bhars under the Pasis, it seems very likely that they are connected. Oddly enough Mr. Sherring includes the Pasis under Khatitis, who though for some reason impure are still by no means as low in the social scale as he has placed them. Baris and Dhanuks too

instead of being placed on the lowest step of the social scale, should be mentioned as generally employed as personal servants by respectable castes. The Baris too are often soldiers, and make the leaf plates from which *all* castes eat.

We have entered thus minutely into the errors and omissions of the book before us, because we consider, that if with the pains he has evidently taken, the author had set to work differently, a very valuable collection of matter would have been the result. As it is, destitute of an index, and arranged with but little regard to system, the book, except to an expert, is deprived of its chief value—that of a book of reference. Had the old and often published information anent the Vedic division of the Bráhmans, and the thirty-six royal races of Rájputs been suppressed or with the lives of illustrious men relegated to another book; and had the castes and clans occurring in Benares been alphabetically treated; the book would have had a value second only to that of Sir H. Elliot.

And here we would call attention to the Supplemental Glossary, as the form in which any information with regard to castes had best be published, until something like a clear view can be obtained of the system in its entirety. The original work, so far as it went, (we are talking only of the caste part) was especially valuable as narrating generally only facts and seldom indulging in theory. We wish we could say that Mr. Beames had any way improved it in editing; but in fact the book as it now stands bears every trace of having been very hurriedly passed through the press. However that may be, it stands forward as the model which should be followed by future contributors to a knowledge of the subject we have treated, till such time as materials enough have been collected to admit of a scientific arrangement of any sort. *

We trust that the Government of India will not lose sight of the opportunity afforded by the census returns to obtain complete lists of the castes of the different provinces of our Indian Empire.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

A New Series of Persian and Hindustani School Books. Published under the direction of Dr. S. W. Fallon, Inspector of Schools, Bihar, by Rái Sohan Lál, Head Master of the Patna Normal School.

THE object of this Series is to improve by means of cheap and well selected text books the teaching of Vernacular Schools, and to furnish native readers in general with a set of books written in simple and concise language on subjects of literature and science. The extracts from works on literature are free from everything peculiarly Islamitic or polemic, and have, to borrow an Eastern phrase, the light of morality shining through the window of the page. The moral tone of the publications is a distinguishing feature of the books. Those who are acquainted with the school books which have hitherto been used by native students, will see at a glance the value of Dr. Fallon's Series. Few people have formed a correct idea of the pruriency and questionable morality of what are called Eastern classical writers. The very first story in Sa'dí's *Gulistán* teaches the maxim that speaking the truth should be regulated by the result which may follow it, and that a lie is, in cases of expediency, better than truth. A little further on, the doctrine is inculcated that when a king by day time should say, "I think, it is night," you should look up to heaven and answer, "yes, the Pleiads have made their appearance." The last book of Sa'dí's *Gulistán*, which is rarely read in schools, is the best. Without saying a word on the filthiness of his fifth book, we may in general remark, that the whole poetical literature of the (modern) Arabians, the Persians, Hindústánís, and partially that of the Turks, selects "the pretty boy," and not pure woman, as the ideal, and extols unnatural lust as paradise on earth. Hence the necessity of schoolbooks that teach decency and morality.

Rái Sohan Lál's school books are got up in praiseworthy style. The letters are distinct, and the lines are well apart, so that reading becomes a pleasure rather than a work. We notice this as a special recommendation, as the numerous school books issued by the Lucknow, Cawnpore, Agra, and Delhi presses, are most deficient in this respect: their letters are often indistinct, and the lines are too closely packed. All languages which make use of the Arabic characters are difficult to read: in fact, no sentence can

be read off without mistake, until the meaning is understood; hence it is absolutely necessary that no further obstacles be thrown in the way of beginners. We shall first notice a few of Rái Sohan Lál's text books of Literature.

1. *Fársí Amoz*, No. 1., 25pp. 8vo. This is a "First Persian Reader." It expects that the student is slightly acquainted with Hindústání, and gives the elements of Persian reading. There is careful gradation of lessons, and at the end are easy dialogues on various subjects.

2. *Intikháb i Fársí Nazm*. 21pp. 8vo. This is an easy Persian Poetical Primer, containing extracts from the didactic works of Ibn Yamín, an old Persian poet, Sa'dí's *Bostán*, and the *Tuhfatul Ahrár* by Jámí, the last of the classics.

3. *Ditto. Ditto*. No. 5. A more advanced Persian Reader, containing extracts from the *Sháhnámah* and the *Garsháspnámah*. The extracts from the last named work are a welcome addition to our printed series of Persian classics. MSS. of this work are so excessively rare, that even the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses no MS. of this ancient Persian poem. Even in Europe only a few are known to exist, and we would strongly advise Rái Sohan Lál to publish the whole work. The *Garsháspnámah* was composed by Asad i Túsí, the great teacher of the greater Firdausí.

Masnawí i Mihr i Haq, the Poetical works by Rái Sohan Lál, Headmaster of the Patna Normal School. Lithographed, 62pp, 8vo., 1872. Printed by Munshí Súrajmall, Patna.

We have read with much pleasure portions of these Persian poems composed by the energetic Headmaster of the Patna Normal School, on the greatness of God's love, the excellencies of His works, and the happiness of the man whose breast is filled with the thought of God. The language is pure and has a touch of the quaint and archaic, which is so suitable for poems of the didactic class. The thoughts are simple and clearly expressed. In one point we do not agree with the poet. As he writes Persian, he must follow more strictly the technicalities of the *ars poetica* than he has done. This remark refers chiefly to the rhyme. Cases of rhymes, inadmissible as far as Persian Qáfiah is concerned, are for example found on p. 9, l.3; p. 15, l.8; p. 46, l.1.; p. 58, l.9, &c. *Hamesh* on p. 31, is Hindí, not Persian. A few verses are objectionable in phraseology and metre, as on p. 4, l.1. 10 and 11; p. 5, l.6; p. 25, l. 3 from below; p. 38 l.4 from below; p. 39, l.6; p. 40, l.3 from below; p. 41, l.6; p. 60, l.1.

2. GENERAL LITERATURE.

A Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan via Bhamo.
By John Anderson, M.D., Medical Officer and Naturalist to the Expedition. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1871.

THIS expedition was organised in 1868, for the purpose of determining the possibility and the advantages of a trade-route from Bhamo to Western China by the valley of the Tapeng, which joins the Irawady at Bhamo. This route is probably the best and easiest that could be chosen between Burmah and China; but it is impossible to be very sanguine about its ultimate success. In the first place the provinces of Yunan and Sechuen, which would be immediately opened up by the proposed route, have been for the last fifteen years in open revolt from China; and it seems probable that the rebellion will end in the establishment of a Muhammadan monarchy including, besides those above-named, the northern provinces of Shensi and Kansu. The Panthays, as the Muhammadan rebels are termed by the Burmese, will in this case form an independent state lying between two hostile populations; for the Burmese naturally look to China as an ally in the event of possible complications, and entertain towards the successful Panthays an extreme dislike. Such a termination to the present hostilities would be hardly favourable to the encouragement of trade operations between Burmah and China. Dr. Anderson does, indeed, express a hope that the possible re-establishment of peace might open a brighter prospect to the merchants of Rangoon. The population of Western Yunan would be reached, and through them the millions of China; and therefrom Manchester and Sheffield might suck no small advantage. But the author is not over sanguine about such a result. Arrived at Yunan city, the route would have to compete with the three great river-highways; the Yangtse-kiang to Shanghai, the Canton river, and the Cambodia to Saigon. "In the event of either road or railway being opened up, even as far as has been indicated, it would have a severe struggle with those long-established water highways down which the riches of that immense empire of China have rolled to the sea, generation after generation; and when it is remembered that the sole purpose, or nearly so, of a proposed land communication with China, is to divert a moiety of the trade that finds its way down these splendid rivers to the sea in an opposite direction, and to bring it by a land route to another river, the Irawady, in foreign territory, the immense difficulties that lie in the way of its successful accom-

plishment are easily understood. In plain language, the project is to divert from the Yang-tse-kiang, Canton river, and Cambodia that which naturally belongs to them, and to bring it to the Irawady by a land journey. I leave it to practical men to judge if such an end is likely to be attained." The land journey from Yunan to Momien, and thence by the Kakhyen hills down the Tapeng valley, involving a distance of some 350 miles and an ascent or descent of over 1,000 feet, puts an insuperable difficulty in the way of successful competition. Dr. Anderson accordingly looks to the Brahmaputra and its affluent, the Dihong, which breaks through the Himalayas from Tibet into Assam, as the only natural outlet for the productions of Tibet and China. Bathang in Sechuen, on the highway from the capital of that province to Tibet, is only 14 days from our frontier; and Hamilton Buchanan states that in his time there was a mart at a place called Chouna on the confines of Assam and Tibet, in which the products of Bengal were exchanged for silver bullion to the amount of £10,000. It is only the exclusive policy of the Chinese Government that cuts off Assam from its natural commercial relations, and diverts the enormous trade of Tibet from the Brahmaputra to the Yang-tse-kiang. But we fear this obstacle is just as fatal as the other; the Chinese hatred of foreigners is a difficulty quite as formidable (until the sun of enlightenment rises upon the Celestial Empire) as 350 miles of arduous country.

Perhaps the most valuable portion of Dr. Anderson's work is the result of his researches about the upper waters of the Irawady, that great stumbling block to geographers. The difficulty is, how to connect the great rivers of Tibet, from the Sanpo eastward to the Yang-tse-kiang, with the river-systems of India, Burmah and Chin². A glance at any good map—Stanford's or Keith Johnston's—will elucidate the nature of the difficulty. North of the Himalayan range there are two great rivers: the Sanpo, flowing nearly due east at a mean latitude of 29° ; and the Yang-tse-kiang, running nearly southwards, and separated from the Sanpo, at the extreme eastern point of the latter, by a distance of 200 miles. Between these two there are a number of lesser streams; one of which, the Sok, must have traversed a course of 600 miles before reaching the latitude of 29° , the Burung also being of considerable, though less magnitude. South of the Himalayas, there are the Brahmaputra; the Irawady and the Salween of Burmah; and the Cambodia. The Yang-tse-kiang may be neglected, as its course is well defined throughout. The question that geographers have to settle is, which rivers of the northern system are connected with which of the southern? A century ago D'Anville, perhaps the greatest geographer that ever lived, put forward the startling hypothesis that the Sanpo was identical

with the Irawady. He seems to have been led to this conclusion by the apparent continuity of the eastern Himalayas, and the consequent impossibility of the northern river breaking through the range into Assam. He attributed the enormous volume of water of the Brahmaputra—which on this hypothesis was restricted to a very short course—to a vast number of contributory streams rising in the mountains that inclose Assam to the north-east, and fed by their snows. The Sok and the other rivers eastward as far as the Yang-tse-kiang were attributed, in conformity with this theory, to the Salween and Cambodia; the former of which, at any rate, cannot from its size lay claim to any such distant source.

D'Anville's conjecture was supported by Klaproth, who brought the Sanpo by a circuitous course into the Irawady at Bhamo along the valley of the Tapeng. Consequently, throughout the first quarter of this century, the Irawady was credited with all the water of the Sanpo. But in 1825 Captain Wilcox saw reasons for believing the theory to be untenable. Going eastward from Assam, he encountered what he supposed to be the main stream of the Irawady, and found it a small river, not more than eighty yards wide, closed in to the north by a towering wall of mountains. He heard indeed of an eastern branch, but it was reported to be insignificant; and he felt convinced that the Irawady took its rise in the mountain range before him. He may be said to have refuted Klaproth's theory; but there can be no doubt that, in assigning to the Irawady so contracted a course, he unduly depreciated the importance of that river. A course of under 300 miles, with no streams of any magnitude to feed it, will not explain the size of the Irawady at Bhamo. From that time, however, the hypothesis of D'Anville and Klaproth has been discredited; and it may now be assumed, for it has been proved almost to demonstration, that the Sanpo flows in its natural course to the Brahmaputra, breaking through the mountains under the name of the Dihong. But there are two other rivers which unite with the Dihong to form the Brahmaputra, namely, the Debong and the Brahmakund. Accordingly, since the Irawady, the Salween and the Cambodia, owing to the impossibility of their breaking through Wilcox's "towering wall of mountains," have been confined to a district south of 28° , it has been found necessary to identify the Sok, and its two neighbours to the east, with these affluents of the Brahmaputra. Such is an outline of the river distribution as indicated in the ordinary maps.

The result of Dr. Anderson's inquiries is that Wilcox's account of the source of the Irawady cannot be reconciled with the size of a river "which, 200 miles further down, measures more than half a mile in breadth, with an average depth of from two to three

fathoms, without receiving any notable stream on the way that would account for the unprecedented difference between these two points." He cannot, therefore, avoid the conclusion that its eastern branch, which no European eye has ever seen, must have a much larger northerly distribution. All the accounts that he could get, concur in describing the eastern branch as the largest, and as being more like the upward prolongation of the main stream than a branch. Dr. Anderson looks upon the "towering wall" as no obstacle whatever. In the Dihong, Debong and Brahmakund, we have examples of large rivers piercing mountain chains. The Salween is comparatively a small river, and its origin may without any difficulty be assigned to a latitude of 28° or less. But the Cambodia is a much more important river; and though in the text Dr. Anderson is inclined to explain its large size by the immense reservoir which it has in the Tali lake in lat. 26° , yet in the map he takes it through the northern chain and, identifying it with one of the lesser Tibetan rivers, gives it an origin in lat. 30° . Hence the river system of Tibet, as explained by Dr. Anderson, is somewhat as follows. The Sanpo breaks through the Himalayas as the Dihong, and becomes, after receiving the other two affluent streams, the Brahmaputra. The Debong is identified with the Sok, which drains an immense tract of country to the east of the lake district of Tibet. To the Brahmakund, the last affluent of the Brahmaputra, a short course of 150 miles is assigned. Of the other two Tibetan rivers to the east of the Sok, the Irawady is identified with one, the Burung, which rises in the Gherghi range in lat. 34° , not far from the main stream of the Yang-tse-kiang. The remaining one may either join the former to swell the waters of the Irawady, or keep an eastward course and become known to geographers as the Cambodia. As Dr. Anderson says, however, all the information as yet obtained is little more than conjectural; and it says little for geographical enterprise in the East in recent times, that a river, equalling in magnitude the Ganges, should remain unexplored. The difficulties in the way of at least a partial exploration cannot be insuperable. Dr. Anderson went up in a boat from Bhamo as far as the first defile; and was only prevented from pursuing his voyage of discovery by the exigencies of the expedition, which was on the point of starting for Momien.

The progress of the expedition was at first delayed by the hostility of the Kakhyens, who occupy the western portion of the mountains that inclose the valley of the Tapeng as far as Momien. They are evidently an ill-conditioned set of ruffians; and present a curious mixture of brutality, avarice, insolence, dirt, and cowardice. The women contrast very favourably with the men; and throughout the expedition the party received many proofs of kindness from the gentler sex. Coquetry is

natural to the female character in even the most uncivilised regions ; witness the following incident :—

“ Half an hour before sunset I went out for a stroll below the city wall, keeping my eyes about me for land shells, which seem to be remarkably scarce here. While so engaged, I heard a female voice calling to me from the battlements, and looking up saw a pretty face peering down, and intent that I should give her something ; and not catching very distinctly what she said, I imagined that she was asking for cheroots, and indicated by signs that if she would unwind her long head-dress, and let down one end of it, I would give her some. She disappeared for a few minutes and returned with a long cloth, and on her letting it down, I tied a few cheroots into it, congratulating myself that I had satisfied her demands ; but no, no sooner had she drawn it back and examined the contents than she became as importunate as ever. At last catching the word *keenza* the mystery was explained ; she was begging for round mirrors, and I recognised her as one of the Shan ladies attached to the suite of the Tsawbwa-gadaw of Nantin. I tried to make her understand that I did not carry *keenzas* about with me, but as she would take no denial, I jokingly offered to catch her in my arms if she would jump down and come to the khyoung for them ; but although this highly amused her, she was not to be diverted from her desire to possess the coveted mirrors, and waved me off for them ; and I had to obey, and returning with one and a packet of needles, the cloth was again lowered, and great was her glee when she pulled it up, and found herself the happy possessor of the much-longed-for *keenza*.”

The hostility of the Chinese both in Bhamo and in Momien was another cause of vexatious delay. The trade between these places has always been in their hands ; and they were naturally jealous of foreign intrusion. But the Panthays, who are now in possession of the town of Momien, were very anxious to encourage the expedition. They would not allow the party to proceed until they had cleared the road of a formidable gang of Chinese marauders ; and they finally sent forward a guard to protect the party as far as Momien. Meanwhile, during the two months' delay at Ponsee, the surrounding villages became convinced of the pacific character of the expedition, and showed a more friendly disposition. Some Buddhist nuns, also, who had been to Rangoon, and had come back impressed with the greatness and goodness of the English, helped to make matters smooth. But what most of all contributed to the establishment of popular favour was the medical skill displayed by Dr. Anderson. Nothing came amiss to him. Demoniacal possession and fever, barrenness and ophthalmia, congenital dumbness and broken bones—all were brought to him for treatment, with the fullest confidence in powers suspected to be supernatural. A magnetic battery, a telescope, and the prediction of an eclipse confirmed a simple people in the belief

of the stranger's exalted powers. Still, the avarice of those in authority interposed many difficulties in their way. The following ingenious device was resorted to in order to extract a sum of money from Major Sladen, as the price of allowing his party to proceed :—

“The Tsawbwa intimated to Sladen that he was doubtful whether the nâts were favourable to our advance, and that he intended to consult them in the evening, and asked our presence. We went up after dinner to the ceremony, which was held in one end of the new house which he is building. His wife brought mats, and for some time we lay round a fire chatting with him and the other chiefs and their head men. When the Meetway or priest made his appearance, the ceremony began. He sat down on a footstool in one of the corners of the house which had been previously sprinkled with water, and no sooner was he seated than he blew through a small tube, and uttering a groan threw it from him, and began to shake from head to foot, making the whole floor vibrate. He then grasped the sides of his head, and quivering all over, uttered long-drawn yawns, shrieks, and groans, as if he were in great suffering. He also went through occasional chants, and the Tsawbwa and his Pawmines kept up short conversations with him in a coaxing tone, when he appeared to be suffering more than usual. The only way I can describe this remarkable scene is by comparing him to a maniac. After this had gone on for some time, Sladen was politely informed that the nâts required to be appeased by an offering of silver and cloth before it would be lucky for us to advance from Ponline; fifteen rupees and some pieces of cloth were offered. The rupees were placed in a small bamboo which had been previously sprinkled with water, but no sooner were they placed before the priest, along with the cloth, than he kicked them away, continuing his shrieks and groans even more vigorously than before. This was to indicate that the offering was not enough, and in the midst of shakings, groans, and yells, he signified through the Tsawbwa that nothing under Rs. 60 would suffice. Sladen added Rs. 5 to his offering, and told the man that no more would be forthcoming, but when it was laid before him, he again kicked it away, but this time no one took any notice of his rejection of it. He continued his unearthly sounds for another full quarter of an hour, when they began to be less frequent and violent. A dried leaf rolled into a cone and filled with rice was then handed to him by one of the Pawmines. He took it, and raised it to his forehead two or three times, uttering a low chant, and then threw it on the floor. He then took a dâh which had been carefully washed before the ceremony began, and treated it in the same way as the leaf-cone. This over, he gave expression to his feelings in gentler groans and sighs which gradually died away, and the ceremony was over. He left his seat laughing, and directed our attention by signs to his legs and arms which he gave us to understand were very tired. We were informed that the nâts had taken a favourable view of affairs, and that we were to be allowed to proceed.”

The nâts play a very important part in all public and domestic affairs. They are a difficult and cantankerous set of spirits, and generally manifest themselves as obstructives. If a journey is to be undertaken the nâts will not allow it; if a man goes out to shoot birds, it is intimated to him that the nâts will take offence. A Kakhyen discovers a woman seriously ill; he immediately draws his *dâh* and makes a series of cuts over the unfortunate woman's head, in order to drive off the nât who is attacking her. On another occasion our travellers were credited by the Kakhyens with the possession of influence over the nâts.

"We found a number of men, women, and children dancing round the common hall, each carrying a small stick, which was waved up and down in unison with their pedal movements which consisted of a rapid shuffling gait, first with one leg and then with the other, intermixed with the vigorous beating of two tom-toms by a man and girl; the dancers burst out occasionally into bounds and yells, and rushed round the apartment with renewed energy and excitement. We were beckoned to join them, which we at once did, but when we had made two rounds, the whole party suddenly rushed to the door with a fiendish shout, the foremost man clearing the way with his stick which some of our party mistook for a *dâh*. We all followed, and the house was left, as we thought, empty. On going in again to discover the object of the dance, we found, to our horror, a dead child lying in a corner carefully screened off, and the poor mother standing by its side weeping bitterly. The dance was to drive the spirit of the infant from the house, which it was supposed to leave when the rush was made for the door, and we were informed that our presence had contributed in no small degree to hasten its temporary departure. We were now presented by one of the women with *sheroo*, which was handed to us in primitive cups extemporized out of plantain leaves folded in such a way that not a drop of liquor escaped. On leaving, we discovered that the chickens were intended as an offering to the nâts. We had again occasion to pass the house, when we found the girls busily pounding rice, and laughing as if nothing had happened."

For the credit of the class, however, it should be added that there are good nâts who cause the sun and moon to rise, send abundant crops, and protect travellers. There are separate nâts of rain, wind, cold and fire. There is a superior nât called Shingrawah who created everything. He is not worshipped, but he is held in reverence on account, they say, of his bigness. The Kakhyens have some notions of a future state; and the worst penalties are reserved for those men who are killed by the *dâh*, and those women who die pregnant. The horse and the great earth-snake are also objects of reverence.

Nât-worship seems to be a relic of the old religion of the country, which, in other parts, has been engrafted on to Buddhism. But the prevalent form of Buddhism is of a somewhat impure

character. The Kakhyens are not Buddhists; but amongst the Shans, who profess it, there are no pagodas; the priests wear shoes, discard the yellow robe, and work as silversmiths (silver being a metal which their religion forbids them to touch); and they receive their daily alms at the monastery, instead of begging it from door to door. Dr. Anderson mentions an extraordinary perversion of the orthodox doctrine, which he even declares to be the opinion of the majority of the Buddhists that he has met. Gaudama is spoken of as distinct from and above Buddha: "so that whatever may be the abstract teaching of their religion, the belief of the common people is in a God and Buddha." Gaudama may rightly be spoken of as distinct from Buddha; since there are many possible Buddhas and only one Gaudama, who has destroyed his chance of ever becoming Buddha again, by the attainment of Nirvâna. According to the legend, Dipenkara was the previous Buddha, and Maitreya will be the next; and when, in another passage, Dr. Anderson speaks of Gaudama as identical with the preceding Buddha, Dipenkara, there is evidently a misconception. Though it is difficult to set limits to the vagaries of a popular creed, yet we think it quite possible that all that was meant by the Kakhyen expositor was this:—that Gaudama had now attained, in Nirvâna, a position far above that of any future Buddha, by whom Nirvâna had not yet been realised. But the conception of a God above Buddha is wholly unintelligible; gods there are below Buddha in thousands, and they inhabit their blessed abode Tushit. To them Gaudama, when a Bodhisattwa, or Buddha not yet perfected, had preached the law before becoming incarnate on earth; and to him they listened with reverent admiration. But the gods live in Heaven; and any form of life, even in Heaven, is far below the aspirations of the Buddhist sage.

India : or, certain moral and social questions connected with our Indian Empire. An Address by Richard Congreve, M.A., M.R.C.P.L.

IT has often been pointed out by adverse critics that if Positivists ever became possessed of power, they would establish a tyranny over the minds and bodies of men more terrible than any the world has ever witnessed. And the criticism is undoubtedly true. Positivism, while insisting *ad nauseam* on its relativity, is the most intensely dogmatic and uncompromising scheme that was ever propounded. It has its hard and fast lines drawn round every sphere of human activity, beyond which it is flat blasphemy to transgress. Poets are to write poetry only after a particular fashion,—the very length of their poems, and the structure of the verse having been given in detail by the illustrious Comte; Science

is hedged in by certain Hercules' pillars,—Comte having at some time or other peered into the unknown regions beyond, and come back with the information that nothing of practical utility was to be found there ; Metaphysics and Psychology are alike expelled ; while all those feelings, hopes, aspirations, joys and sorrows which have sought for satisfaction in something more enduring than this transient life, are labelled "delusions," and sternly forbidden to the Faithful. Lastly no one is to emigrate from one country to another, or even apparently to leave his own home, unless he is prepared to identify himself absolutely with the new people among whom he goes, as such practices tend to disturb that Chinese uniformity, not to say, stagnation, which the Positivist looks forward to as the last result of all the ages, and which he dignifies by the imposing title of "the doctrine of persistence." The world, in fact, according to the Positivist is a mistake altogether. There are benighted minds who may prefer the irregular luxuriance of nature to the artificial symmetry of a triangular yew tree ; the varied magnificence of a tropical forest, to the square cut parterres of a Dutch garden ; but not so the enlightened advocate of the Religion of Humanity. The triangular yew tree, the square cut Dutch garden, are in his eyes the very ideal after which impotent nature is unceasingly striving. When he has destroyed the last spark of "individualism" which lights up the monotony of human life ; when every soul upon the earth is so renewed after the likeness of Auguste Comte, that it is impossible to distinguish one from another, then "the world's great age begins anew ; the golden years return." It is plain that to bring about this result, some means of coercion will have to be employed, and in the address we are criticising, some of these means are candidly explained to us. Mr. Congreve,—the leader of Positivism in England—maintains for certain reasons (most ludicrously inadequate as we shall show presently) that our retention of India is an act of gross wickedness, and proceeds to argue from this that no true Positivist ought to come to India, either as a Government servant, or even in a commercial capacity, as in this last character he acts contrary to the doctrine of persistence. If, he adds, after this plain warning, any ill-advised Positivist should seek a livelihood in India, "the sacrament of destination" will be withheld from him. (We must mention for the benefit of those unacquainted with the system of Positivism, that the Positivists though banishing God out of the region of human life, have provided themselves abundantly with every other religious equipment, and among them, with seven sacraments.) But Mr. Congreve has also a great horror of people—that is English people—marrying in this country. The necessity to send children home to England to be educated, is opposed to the Positivist notion of

what family life should be ; consequently any Positivist man and woman who presume to marry in England, with the intention of coming to India, will be deprived of the "sacrament of marriage." Here then we have an infallible Pope revealed to us *in propria personâ*. Of course at present it sounds laughable enough, because so very few people care a rush for the Positivist "sacraments"—either for that of "marriage," or that of "destination,"—or can even dimly imagine any rational being ever doing so ; but we are attempting to trace out the *spirit* of Positivism, and its action upon conduct. Now here is a claim put forward, precisely similar in every respect to the power of the keys exercised by the Pope of Rome. In the Positivist church, any man who dares to think for himself, so much as to believe England is not guilty of gross wickedness in retaining India, and to act upon that belief is, *ipso facto*, excommunicated. For him there is no hope of that "subjective immortality" which the Positivist Church holds forth as the reward of the true believer ; he is to be cast out into the outer darkness together with "the parasites" or enemies of Humanity, where he will "without doubt perish everlastingly."

But this assumption of infallibility on the part of Mr. Congreve becomes doubly ludicrous when we come to the reasons on which he grounds his indignation against England's hold upon India. "In the present case," he says speaking of India and England, "what we wish, what we aim at, is to bring to a close peaceably, and in the best possible way, the, to us, acknowledged evil of our supremacy over another country, *equally with ourselves entitled to its national independence*. The italics are ours. We will pass over the blunder involved in speaking of India as inhabited by a single homogeneous people, and as therefore so much as capable of possessing "national independence." We will confine ourselves to the error involved in the expression "entitled." There are only two senses in which this word can be used in the present connection, and Mr. Congreve can use it in neither without a flat contradiction of some of the fundamental tenets of Positivism. A nation may be said to be "equally entitled" with ourselves to independence, on the hypothesis that all peoples as such, possess an *a priori* metaphysical "right" to freedom,—a meaning which Positivism would indignantly repudiate. We are then thrown back upon the other alternative,—the argument from experience—that only those nations are "entitled" to their freedom who have the courage and the patriotism to preserve it. Of course we all know that such freedom as India does enjoy is wholly dependent upon our presence here ; that were we to withdraw, Sikhs, Afghans and Mahrattas would convert it into a vast field for plunder and slaughter ; but it is not surprising that the writer,

who knows so little of India, as to suppose it to be inhabited by a single homogeneous people, should endow this creature of his imagination with a capacity for independence. This, however, is Mr. Congreve's main reason for calling upon England to release her cruel grasp upon Hindostan. "But," the reader may ask, "how are we to abandon India?" There certainly seem to be difficulties when we consider the vast network of commercial relations which exist between India and all other parts of the world, and which are the direct products of British rule—the innumerable hopes and prospects, the peace, order and security which depend entirely upon our presence here; but, here we regret to say Mr. Congreve almost entirely fails us,—“the means” he modestly declares, “of effecting that object are not within my province.” This our readers will see is not quite fair of Mr. Congreve. No man is justified in abusing another as an iniquitous profligate because he has a wen on his neck, and then when asked how he is to get rid of an inherited evil, to turn round and say, “that is no business of mine.” Mr. Congreve himself seems to have some conscientious compunctions on this score, and makes one notable suggestion which alone ought to immortalise his name. First, a general guarantee is to be given by all the European Powers that they are on no account to slip into our vacant places. With childlike hopefulness Mr. Congreve asserts that this guarantee we may easily secure. Then there is to be a mixed commission to settle the relations of Western Europe and India, consisting of representatives from France, Portugal, Denmark, and Italy,—Russia, Austria and Germany are, for reasons unknown, excluded—the Sultan of Turkey as the natural head of Islamism, and last, but not least, Mr. Congreve “would have some eminent Brahmin selected as the fitting complement to the mixed commission thus formed.” After that one really gasps for breath. But worse is to come. The “eminent Brahmin” and “the Sultan of Turkey” with their coadjutors might, Mr. Congreve believes, “fairly constitute the germ of a European protectorate, and in the meantime they might, on the strength of a policy of renunciation on the part of England, speak in persuasive language to the various Indian Governments on their own internal affairs.” This is truly delightful. But alas! we fear that our friends the Sikhs and the Afghans would be utterly unmoved by either the “policy of renunciation” or the most “persuasive” *duet* that could possibly be maintained by the Sultan and “the eminent Brahmin.” Besides there is Russia. But it is not worth while to seriously discuss proposals which are fit only for laughter. We have only noticed this address because the extraordinary absurdity of its statements, reasoning, and practical conclusions furnish such a striking commentary on the intellectual arrogance of Positivism.

According to this school, every mental product in the universe is perishing from its inherent foolishness, except that which proposes to regenerate India by the removal of British rule, and the substitution in its place of a mixed commission, the chief members of which are to be the Sultan of Turkey and an "eminent Brahmin." "The force of folly could no further go."

R. D. OSBORN.

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1. *Mookerjee's Magazine (New Series), of Politics, Sociology, Literature, Art, and Science; including chiefly History and Antiquities, Geography and Travels, Bibliography and Oriental Literature, Jurisprudence and Commerce, &c.* Edited by Sambhu Chandra Mukhopádhya. Calcutta. 1872.
 2. *The Bengal Magazine.* Edited by the Rev. Lal Behari Day. Calcutta. 1872.

DURING the past quarter two rival monthly Magazines have been started in Calcutta, written in English by native scholars. Between them they number amongst their contributors nearly all the best native scholars in Bengal; and their simultaneous appearance, though probably a somewhat unfortunate circumstance as far as regards their prospects as commercial ventures, is a striking manifestation of Bengáli literary activity.

One of these is a resuscitation of the old *Mookerjee's Magazine*, under the same name and management; the other is called the *Bengal Magazine*, and is edited by the Rev. Lál Bihári Day. Of the former, the first number appeared in July; and a month later it was followed by its rival. In *Mookerjee's Magazine*, where the writers are discussing purely literary or scientific topics, they are generally very readable; and in one paper on *The Homer of India*, by Bábu Rajendralál Mitra, the language is particularly pure and idiomatic. But when we come to the discussion of social topics, we perceive an immediate falling off, not in the vigour of the thoughts or the excellence of the moral sentiments, but in the appropriateness of the language. Take, for example an earnest and sorrowful biographical notice, written by the Editor, of his late colleague in the management of the old series of the Magazine. Any one who will read it through carefully, without noticing its imperfections of *manner*, will be convinced that it is brimful of real, honest, manly feeling; yet few would think so from the style of the introduction, which was as follows: "Late on Sunday night, the 19th September, 1869, when we went to bed, little did we suspect . . . that a great Indian was *giving the slip* to all who and which were dear to him, and to whom and which he was dear, including his great country, and passing from Earth to Heaven! For, surely, the word has no meaning

if Heaven has no room, *in pit or gallery, if not reserved seats*, for such as Grish Chunder Ghose. Waking the next morning, we found he had gone—for good!—*in more senses than one, taking French leave* of us.” The amazing incongruity of such passages as those we have here italicised is undoubtedly the first thing that will strike every English reader; and it is such incongruities as these that sometimes engross the attention of the English critic, and make him blind to much that is good and sensible and even elegant, often obscured and marred by these flippant conceits. In the very instance before us, the article which begins thus ludicrously, contains much nervous manly writing in an easy simple style highly creditable to the author. Apart, however, from these defects of manner, there is a very serious defect in the matter also. Bábú Sambhu Chandra is never tired of grumbling at the British Government, because it did not make his lamented friend a “Settlement Commissioner or Commissioner on a Frontier,” or give him some high preferment of some kind; he declares that “God made Grish for a tribune of the people, and England permitted him to be no more than a clerk”; he sets all this down to “British slavery”; and yet every word that he writes about the character of his gentle, reserved, inactive friend proves that the Government would have committed an egregious mistake if any post had been given him involving more responsibility than that which he had. Take one or two traits:—“He had no enterprise, no personal boldness, no ambition. No salutary discontent dogged him in his quiet, even path, or for a moment clouded his unvarying cheerfulness; no high tastes cherished in secret made him miserable, no worthy aspirations urged him day and night to deeds of high emprise.” The Editor of *Mookerjee* would fain have had his friend emulate the Byronic medical students described by Macaulay, who, in their excessive admiration for *Lara* or the *Giaour*, “became things of dark imaginings on whom the freshness of the heart ceased to fall like dew, whose passions had consumed themselves to dust, and to whom the relief of tears was denied”; but Bábú Grish, doubtless fortunately for his own comfort and peace of mind, was much too sensible for this sort of thing.

In strong contrast to such unreal and unreasonable complaints, the tone of two capital papers on *Practical Education*, contributed by Bábú Iswar Chandra Mitra to the August and September numbers of the *Bengal Magazine*. On the whole we are inclined to regard these essays as the most valuable outcome, so far, of this remarkable literary movement. In the first paper the Bábú confines himself to a statement of the present condition of affairs; showing that whilst yearly the supply of educated young men is being largely increased, the avenues of employment usually open

to them are becoming narrower and fewer. This part of his case is, we think, certainly overdrawn; but we can forgive much to the advocate of a good cause; and the advice given in the second paper is in every way admirable, even if the state of affairs be not so alarming as he would at first seem to have us believe.

The question now is, are we to be content with this state of things? If we are so content, and stand still, we are certain to fall back. We shall not be able to tread on other walks of life but such as we are already familiar with, and the number of competitors in the race will yearly increase, while our prospects will not, in all likelihood, be at all bettered. Need we not then give our young men a more practical education than we give them at present,—an education which will fit them to pursue occupations which are as honest and respectable as those they now pursue? What are those occupations, and what is the sort of education which would fit our young men for them? Being of gentle blood, they cannot be hewers of wood and drawers of water; neither are we going to ask them to be such. Even in progressive England, a man with gentle blood in his veins will not, I fear, easily consent to be a green-grocer. Handicrafts may be contemned, but we do not see why occupations requiring the exercise of educated intellect should be despised.

This is a fair statement of the point in question; without any cant about "honest sweat of the brow" and the many platitudes of that kind which reformers are so fond of thrusting down other peoples' throats, and which are suggested rather by the enthusiasm of the platform than by the requirements of real life. Nor does the Bábú leave his questions unanswered:—

Our mineral resources are unbounded. Their development would add materially to our national wealth. Capital and enterprise are certainly wanted to secure this development, but an expensive skilled agency stands a great deal in the way. Will not a study of the sciences of Geology and Mineralogy fit men to assist in this development, either in the field of investigation under the control of Government, or in works undertaken by private enterprise? We have not, we fear, a single individual amongst us, competent by actual training to take an important part in their prosecution. Electricity is a very interesting branch of study. It has received extensive application in connection with telegraphic communications. We have native signallers who can manipulate the batteries; but whenever there is anything radically wrong in the working, whenever there is an interruption in the communications, European skill must be brought into play to set the matter right. Will not a practical study of this particular branch of science open out a large field for worthy employment? Our soil is one of the richest in the world; will not a proper study of agriculture enable us to improve our food-resources, and prevent the recurrence of devastating famines? Are not intellects devoted to the study likely to find ample scope for action? The subject of the conservation of our forests is now being attended to by Government. A department of service has actu-

ally been created. Can a mere general education fit us for employment in it? A special training is certainly required, and it behoves us, if we are to seek our interests, to secure this special training for our young men. The subject of sanitation is daily rising into importance. Diseases, in an endemic and epidemic form, often rage through the land, bringing misery and desolation into many a village and many a home. The nature of the soil on which habitations are built, that of the sub-soil, their humidity from want of drainage, the accumulation and disposal of filth and refuse, sewage, &c., are all matters which must have long, patient and careful investigation, before the laws of public health can be laid down, and before we can expect to remove the causes of the sufferings we daily witness. There cannot be a more noble and wider field for study, enquiry and usefulness. Just as an executive engineer is required in every district to take care of its roads and communications, a sanitary officer may soon be required to take care of its general health.

In the July number of *Mookerjee's Magazine* appeared an interesting little paper by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, on *Infantine Marriages in India*. Its object is to show that these marriages were unknown in the early ages—at all events at the time of the *Mahábhárata* and the *Rámáyana*; “in fact, we have no record of a “case of infantine marriage in literature that might really be called “classical.” It is, doubtless, in this way—by showing the people at large that the practice is not only pernicious and degrading, but also unauthorised by the example of their fathers—that this social evil may best be remedied, by the gradual withdrawal of social sanction. We believe that a petition to the Viceregal Council is now in course of circulation for signature, asking that an Act may be passed to forbid marriages between boys and girls under certain ages. A well-written and powerful protest against the principle of reckless Government interference in social matters is contained in a paper in the *Bengal Magazine* for September, entitled *Improvement under Legislative Pressure*.

In the second place, beyond the right that proceeds from might, what other possible right, may we ask, the Council of the Governor-General of India for the purpose of making laws and regulations has to legislate upon matters connected with the social usages and customs of the people of this country? Does the Council as a body, or any one of its members as individuals, represent in any shape or form whatever the feelings and ideas of either Hindus or Musalmans? Has it any means of being intimately and accurately acquainted with such feelings and ideas? There are, no doubt, the newspapers; but are we to be governed in accordance with the views and opinions of a handful of Editors, whose knowledge of the people below and above them is certainly very limited, to say the least of it, and who, though able and educated, deal more with general politics than with society? In countries where the legislative bodies are elective; where the legislators come from and out of the people; where social opinion

is strong to the verge of tyranny; where proceedings of public bodies are held in the capital and published soon after they have taken place, by impartial journals, with all their incidents and all their details; where the people understand their temporary rulers; where there is no chance of any misunderstanding between the governed and the governors; where both speak the same language, both are actuated to a great extent by the same sympathies and antipathies and prejudices, both have a very great deal—if not every thing—in common, in such countries, legislative interference in matters social is held in jealous dread, and the representatives of the people are called to instant account if they travel by one hair's breadth out of their legitimate region: and, yet, in India, where the legislative bodies are not elective, where there is nothing in common between the rulers and the ruled, and where none of the circumstances which are to be found, for instance in England, exist, it is asked that the Legislature should put a stop to polygamy and early marriage! If it is legitimate for the Council to do away with these two abominations of our society, why should it not be asked to abolish caste? Why should it not make it penal for people to call themselves Brahmans or Sudras? Why should it not make it an offence on the part of a Brahman to invest his son with the *Jagnya pavita*—the holy thread? Why should it not, in short, compel every body to become Brahmos and be reformed for ever and a day?

The proper course to follow, in the present circumstances of the country, is to educate public opinion, and let public opinion do what the Legislature is going to be asked to do. All reforms which are thrust down from above are not reforms in the real sense of the word. Reforms to be reforms, to be permanent, that is, to be effective, must spring from the people, and must be enforced by the voice of the people. Let us in our different circles ignore the existence of the polygamist. Let us in our intercourse with society give the polygamist unmistakably to understand that no decent man would associate with him, no decent man would eat with him, no decent man would have anything to do with him either in sickness or in sorrow. Let us, in the same manner, bring our moral and social influence to bear upon the father, who gives his daughter away in marriage when she is only a child. Instead of its being a social disgrace, as it is at present, to have a daughter at home unmarried beyond a certain age, let us educate ourselves into the conviction, that it is an honour and a matter of credit to have her at home till she has attained her eighteenth or nineteenth year, or whatever other year may be considered most suitable. When this is done, then and then only, will polygamy and early marriage be knocked on the head. Till then you may ask the Legislature to assist you, you may do what you please, the answer you will receive would be that which Jove returned to the carter in answer to his application to get his cart out of the mud in which it had got imbedded.

The authors of the *Dutt Family Album* contribute several little poems of pleasing sentiment and melodious rhythm, to both

the journals under notice. One of Mr. O. C. Dutt's *Sonnets* in the August number of the *Bengal Magazine* will compare favourably with any productions of the same nature that we have seen from Anglo-Indian pens ; and the following elegant little *Charade*, which we copy from the September number of the same journal, is characterised by an ingenious simplicity which is entirely appropriate to its subject.

CHARADE.

I mark'd my *First* across the lee,
Run shouting loud in artless glee,
No bird could ever be so gay,
As he upon that holiday,—
The carmine on his cheek that glows,
Shamed the rich lustre of the rose,—
And the deep violet of his eyes
Outvied the color of the skies.
—Deftly the knots had been untied,
My silken *Second* thrown aside,
And all his wealth of golden hair,
Now flutter'd on the morning air,
—A sweet babe-angel from above,
—A Cupid from the bowers of love !

Run, laugh, and shout,—play on, play on,
My *All*, alas !, will soon be gone.
That rosy cheek will sure be dim,
Those glistening eyes in tears will swim,
And innocence, and joy and truth,
Will fade ere long with fading youth.
The peace that now reigns in thy heart,
Will soon, too soon for aye depart,
And canker grief and carking care
Will cloud thy brow with dark despair.
Thy morn is bright, but soon the shade
Of evening will thy heaven pervade ;
Run, laugh, and shout,—play on, play on,
Use well my *All* ere it be gone.

Hardly, if at all, inferior to this, is a sprightly version of a Sanskrit epigram by Rájá Jotindra Mohun Tagore Bahádur, entitled *Woman's Lips* ; showing how, when Gods and Asurs joined to churn the vasty sea, and Nectar and Woman were the products, the sly fellow Vishnu magnanimously shared the ambrosial drink with his comrades, but "*Sri* was his alone."

A silly and impertinent attack by "a graduate of the university," on one of the ablest English writers in Bengal, was doubtless admitted into the first number of *Mookerjee* by an editorial inadvertence ; for we are convinced that no mere lack of "copy"

could have induced an experienced editor, like Bábu Sambhu Chandra, to publish an article which was obviously suited only to the waste-paper basket. It exhibits in a glaring manner all the worst faults—the inaccuracy, the conceit, and the presumption—with which the educated youth of Bengal have been charged by their most severe critics; and its publication is to be regretted, both on its own account, and because, *pro tanto*, it sadly weakens the hands of those who (like ourselves) have conscientiously maintained that the accusations to which it gives a colour are often prompted by ignorance of the real character and powers of our university scholars. We are glad to observe that the pages of the second number of the Magazine are unsullied by any paper of this kind.

The idea of giving monthly reports of the meetings of a "Chit-Chat Club" composed of educated Bengali gentlemen who represent various interests in the native community, is a most happy one; and we were disappointed to see that the report was missing in the second number of Mr. Day's Magazine. We hope to see the series resumed; if its design be carried out fearlessly and honestly—avoiding on the one side servility or partiality, on the other factiousness or personality—the *Club Papers* would be one of the most valuable features of the new Magazines.

In a short review like the present, we are obviously obliged to leave many good papers in the two large collections before us unnoticed. A most interesting account of Chaitanya, by Bábu Kissory Chand Mittra, worthily commences the September number of the *Bengal Magazine*; and two excellent descriptive papers, one on the *Antiquities of Jessore-Ishwaripur* by Bábu Rásvihári Bose, the other on *A Visit to Baidyanáth*, are to be found in the first number of *Mookerjee*. In conclusion we need hardly say we heartily wish each of these young and promising contemporaries a long and prosperous career of usefulness.

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1. *Notes on Surveying. For the use of Schools.* By J. Middleton Scott, M.A., C.E., Professor of Civil Engineering, Presidency College. Calcutta, 1872.
 2. *Notes on Practical Geometry and the Construction of Scales.* By J. Middleton Scott, M.A., C.E., Professor of Civil Engineering, Presidency College. Calcutta, 1872.

THE recent introduction of surveying into the schools of Bengal, and of surveying and civil engineering into our Colleges, has created an urgent demand for some elementary works on these subjects—a demand which it has hitherto been impossible to meet, owing to the fact that the simplest books of the kind, published in England, presuppose a more familiar acquaint-

tance with the English language than is possessed by many Bengali schoolboys; whilst the higher text-books, suitable for use in our colleges, were for most part costly or inaccessible. The two pamphlets whose titles we have noted above, represent the first instalment of an attempt to supply this *desideratum*; for which Mr. Scott deserves, and will doubtless receive, the hearty thanks of all those who are interested in the practical and scientific education of the people of Bengal. They have been prepared "specially to meet the requirements of the classes for surveying and engineering recently established throughout Bengal under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor;" and their conciseness, simplicity, and clearness make them admirably adapted for this.

The *Notes on Surveying* are intended for young boys who know little of either English or Mathematics; and will, we think, be found not only intelligible but even interesting to many boys not so far advanced as the highest classes in our zillah and collegiate schools. Mathematical proofs have been wisely avoided; and the meaning of every term is carefully explained in the plainest language. The elementary rules of surveying—*first* by chain; *secondly*, by compass and chain; and *thirdly*, by the plane table are simply set forth; the plan followed being, first to describe the instruments to be used, and then to explain the mode of using them.

The second pamphlet—is almost a reprint of selected portions of Colonel Williams' excellent compilation on the "Construction of Scales"; and is suited for the Civil Service classes at the various Colleges. We understand that it is Mr. Scott's intention to extend his series, until he has supplied cheap, simple, and convenient manuals for all the branches of surveying and engineering comprehended in the scheme of the Civil Service Examinations. Such a series would embrace:—(1), A Manual of Surveying, which would be an enlargement of the present *Notes*; (2), Mensuration; (3), Construction of Scales, a revised edition of the second pamphlet now under notice, to which some directions and hints about engineering-drawing might well be added; (4), A Manual of Engineering, comprising all the subjects prescribed under this head in the recent orders published in the *Calcutta Gazette*. It is obvious that a series of this kind is absolutely necessary for successfully carrying out the orders of the Government, and for establishing the new studies on a satisfactory footing; and Mr. Scott deserves high praise for the promptitude with which he has come forward to supply the need.

Criticisms of the Indian Journals on a Review of Baroda Affairs; with an Introduction, Notes, Correspondence, &c., thereon.
By Dinshah Ardeshir Tale-Yarkhan. Bombay. 1872.

MR. DINSHAH ARDESHIR is again up in arms against the atrocities of the Baroda Durbar, and the supineness of the British Government in allowing them. The Introduction to the present pamphlet is, if anything, more outspoken and violent than the original *Review*; and if the Gaikwár be only half as bad as he is painted here, Baroda must be a somewhat unpleasant place to live in. The author seems determined, by the very boldness of his accusations, to force the Bombay Government into an investigation.

Our careful enquiries have satisfied us that illegal exactions on the people have been enhanced, to which the people refuse to submit, but are, however, forced to submit; that such foolish measures are imposed on them as would simply excite laughter and ridicule, if they only did not partake of an extremely oppressive character; that not the slightest check exists against the thoroughly demoralized propensities of the Guicowar's servants, and that Providence alone has the care of his administration. That Bhow Sindhia with several others at different times should have been foully murdered, as has been so widely reported, causes us not the least surprise. There are perfectly natural acts for Baroda, and entirely in keeping with its antecedents. This appalling piece of the Guicowar's degeneracy alone is sufficient to cause us disgust to know that an English Residency flourishes close by.

A letter to Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, who is rated roundly by the author, and a somewhat angry correspondence with the *Times of India*, form the most interesting portion of the present pamphlet. Of course it is impossible for us to attempt to form any opinion as to the accuracy of the charges made by Mr. Ardeshir; we must, however, do him the justice to say that they are boldly and fearlessly put forward; and he must have either a thorough conviction of the strength of his position, or else a singular contempt for the law of libel.

The Constitution of the East India Company. By Mancherjee M. Bhownagree. Bombay. 1872.

WE recently congratulated our native fellow-subjects on the apparent growth of an historical taste among them—the taste which, of all literary tastes, has been least characteristic of the Hindu. Our words are more than confirmed by the appearance of an original work on the British rule in this country, from the pen of an educated native gentleman of Bombay. Mr. Bhownagree's little volume is well and carefully written; and singularly original, considering the well-worn nature of the subject

which he has chosen. The home legislation on India and Indian subjects, is more fully set forth and more fairly criticised than we remember to have seen it within anything like the same compass. We have here an admirable little handybook of the political history of the connexion between England and India; and though we, by no means, agree with all the author's opinions, we believe his book will be found very useful by a large number of readers.

Life in India. A series of sketches showing something of the Anglo-Indian—the land he lives in—and the people among whom he lives. By Edward Braddon. London. 1872.

THE series of sketches, of which this volume is a reprint, appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, and were very favourably received by the English public. Reminding the reader of Mr. G. O. Trevelyan's *Competition Wallah*, they have neither the sparkle nor the audacity of that vivacious writer; but *en revanche* they demonstrate a larger acquaintance with India and Indian matters than could possibly have been acquired by Mr. Trevelyan, during his short scamper through the country. The chapter on *Domestic Interiors* and that entitled *In the Mofussil* presents the English reader with a tolerably fair account of the home-life of Anglo-Indians masculine and feminine, and of their ordinary daily avocations; and *India Eighty years ago* is a somewhat interesting retrospect, gathered from the old *Calcutta Gazettes* and from other sources, of their manners and customs and general way of life in the days when George the Third was King, and the Overland Route unknown. The other chapters are—*The natives of the Country—The Rulers, the Public, and the Press—and The Overland Route.* The book may be taken as a fair specimen of that kind of sketchy writing about India that finds most favour at home; and in this light we propose to review it in an early number at somewhat greater length, in connexion with some other kindred topics. In the meantime we can recommend it to our readers, as a little light reading that will help kill an idle hour or two during the coming holidays.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

It has been more than once suggested to the Editor that, as the *Calcutta Review* is the only *Quarterly* in India, and consequently the only periodical publication in which writers are able to support their opinions on important subjects by any prolonged argument or in any detail, it is hardly fair that its pages should be closed against every article (however opportunely conceived and carefully thought out) which may happen to express views not precisely in harmony with its traditional policy or avowed opinions. On the other hand, if such articles were to be admitted freely and on the same footing as others, the *Review* would obviously at once lose that consistency which it has long striven to maintain.

An attempt has been made, in the present number, to meet this difficulty. Following the example of some of the best Reviews in England, articles of the kind referred to will be admitted under the heading "Independent Section"; which should be regarded as indicating, not necessarily that the *Review* is actually hostile to the views enunciated, but that it is unwilling to pledge itself to the advocacy of those views.

October 1872.

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